श्री जसवंत सिंह : आपका फर्माना भी सही हो सकता है।

मैं कुछ बातें स्पष्ट करना चाहूंगा। एक तो अकाल, अनाज का अभाव, चारा नहीं, पीने को पानी नहीं कहते हुये दुख होता है। ऐसा लगता है यह सब कुछ राजस्थान का पर्याय बन गया है। दो साल से आपने कुछ नहीं किया, नहर को पूरा नहीं किया। राजस्थान जैसा स्वावलम्बी और स्वाभिमानी प्रदेश पराया बन गया है। अकाल वहां है, अनाज की कमी वहां है, चारा नहीं है। वह पराया बन जाये यह हमारे लिये अच्छी बात नहीं है। दो साल हो गये अब तो इसमें निर्णय कीजिये। फिर हमारे प्रदेश में भीषण अकाल पड़ा है। जल्दी से जल्दी निर्णय लीजिये चाहे जो भी निर्णय लें लेकिन इस योजना को पूरा कीजिये।

REFERENCE TO THE DAMAGE CAUSED TO THE RAILWAY TRACK NEAR MADURAI BY A POWERFUL EXPLOSION

SHRIMATI RENUKA CHOWDHURY (Andhra Pradesh): Madam, Deputy Chairman, I wish to draw the attention of the House to the news report which said that a large damage was caused to the rail way track near Madurai. Now, this powerful explosion that damaged two feet of the railway track near Nagpur, about 15 kms. from Nagpur in the early hours of 29th November, 1986. Madam, I want to know if the Government has made an analysis as to why this successuful attempt to blast the railway line took place? Is it a reflection of terrorism? If so, is it pertaining to what has been happening in North? Why has it gone so much down to South? Now, I want to know if anyone has attempted that maybe, we are importing terrorism by mishandling the Tamil issue, the Sri Lankan Tamil issue. Has anyone gone into the analysis to see whether we are encouraging this kind of terrorism down South while we have enough on our plans in North? I wont to know if the Central Government has done anything about alerting the States as to the kind of protection we have to take to safeguard the Railways. There used to be some activity for the protection of railway tracks which involved the local villagers in patrolling the tracks. This has been discontinued of late. I think the time has come for us to work on a national level, in the spirit of the nation, where we will interact with each other for the safety and security of all the people of India. It is important to revive this system and to involve the common man in taking security measures for the nation. So protection of the railway tracks at the village level can be revived, as it used to be the practice in earlier times. The Central intelligence machinery has to be tightened up in coordination with the State Government intelligence machinery, if necessary. Otherwise it is not just a question of the Railways being put to economic loss. It will mean a reflection of the things that are going to happen cvontinuously in this country. Then the guards need perhaps more up-to-date electronic equipment which will enable them to keep a watch on the track and monitor what is happening along the rail track. Above all, there has to be a proper analysis of the situation as to why it has come about. And if we have analysed the situation, what do we propose to do about it in the context of the overall picture of what is happening all over? Thank you.

MOTION RE. GENERAL ECONOMIC SITUATION IN THE COUNTRY—Contd.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I have to inform the House that in view of the large number of speakers on the motion moved by the Finance Minister we may dispense with the lunch recess today, and the Finance Minister will reply tomorrow instead of today. Mr. Jagesh Desai.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE (Madhya Pradesh): Madam, if the Finance Minister is to reply tomorrow, why dispense with the lunch hour?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Because there are many Members who want to

[The Deputy Chairman]

speak on this. We will be able to accomodate more speakers if we dispense with the launch recess today.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY (Karnataka): The press has blacked out all our speeches yesterday. I do not know the *reason.*

SHRI JAGESH DESAI (Maharashtra): Madam, Deputy Chairperson, the hon. Finance Minister yesterday reviewed the economic situation. I am vey miserly in congratulating, but I must say that I want to congratulate the Finance Minister for the very good work done by him after he assumed the office of Finance Minister. As regards tax collections I am happy at the manner in which the hon. Minister has taken several actions strengthening the enforcement division of the Ministry and gaining the confidence of the officers. Madam, previously if drastic actions were to be taken against the big houses, the officers were feeling that they would be transferred. They were reluctant to carry out the duties for which they were there. But now they have got confidence that if they take correct action, the Minister is going to encourage and not discourage. I feel that this is the reason for the buoyancy in tax collections. Madam, I am not going to repeat the figures. But in 1985-86, the tax collections were more by 45 per cent, as far as personal income-tax was concerned. Now, in these six months of 1986-87, as compared to the corresponding period of the earlier year, there is a growth of 19 per cent on the earlier growth. And I feel that whatever action he takes against tax evaders, the Minister will get support from all sides of the House. Even the common man has a feeling that the Finance Minister means business. There is all praise for him throughout the country. Having said this I would like to dwell on some aspects of the private sector. Time and again in this House and outside public sector is criticised. I am one of those who are committed to public sector. But that does not mean that if there is inefficiency in the public sector, we should overlook it. The public sector has to work with efficiency, it has to generate resources. Generation of resources is not done by hike in prices but hike in efficiency. What I have seen in the last one year after reading the reports of public sector undertakings is that after our Prime Minister took personal interest in them, the efficiency in the working of so many public sector undertakings has improved, there has been improvement in their stock mangement, in reducing the number of idle hours, and so no. SAIL, which was in red or was making only a minor profit in the year 1984-85, has now made a profit of more than Rs. 100 crores. Tata Steel Industries' turnover has increased in 1985-86 but their profit has gone down. Therefore, instead of criticising the public sector, we should encourage it. Government must give it the financial resources. I am happy that for the first time Government has helped the public sector by giving permission to raise money by way of debentures and bonds. Not only that. If you get some gain by sale of capital goods and the total amount is invested in debentures of public sector, then that capital gain is exempted which was not the case earlier. Some people are saying that Government is not helping public sector, they want to have privatisation of the public sector. I want to say emphatically that Government is giving all kinds of help to the public sector and the day will come when our desire to achieve commanding heights for public sector will be fulfilled. But as regards the private sector, last time I asked the Finance Minister to give us a white paper on the working of the private sector. As regards the public sector all the facts and figures are published, but no such information on the private sector. In he private sector there are 1,20,000 joint stock companies. Out of them how many are making losses, how many are sick units, what about recovery of the bank loans given to the sick industries? I am very pained to say that in reply to one of my questions it was said that only 2 per cent of the sick industries are on account of labour trouble and the rest of 98 per cent are sick for other reasons. Yet those industries have siphoned off their funds and diverted those funds to more profitable industries. As regards sickness in the industrial sector, according to the Reserve Bank figures given in reply to one of my question on 31-12-1985, Rs. 4,263 crores was locked

up in sick units by way of bank advances. Out of that Rs. 2,980 crores, that is, about 75 per cent, is locked up in these industries.

And, Madam, out of this figure of Rs. 2,980 crores, about 705 crores is locked up in the MRTP companies. What is being done to recover at least the funds locked up in the MRTP companies? What is being done? This is what I would like to know. There is no accountability in the private sector companies. In many companies, about 75 to 80 per cent of the funds are given by the people through equity and debentures and loans by the financial institutions. That is why I demand that at least in the case of the MRTP companies, where more than sixty per cent of their funds come through equity and debentures and loans which are given by the banks and financial institutions the accounts of these companies should be audited by the Comptroller and Auditor-General of India and his report should be placed before the House and we must have the right to discuss it. These companies should be accountable not only to the shareholders, but also to the public at large.

Madam, as far as exports are concerned, abouet the liberal policy, at least I have not studied it in depth to find out whether it has helped or not. But I want to caution the Government, Yesterday, our honourable friend, Shri L. K. Jha, was telling that we should not bother about it provided it is used properly for the purpose and provided the goods are produced. But I would like to say that you must give that permission only for mass consumption goods so that we can have more goods and the prices can come down.

Then, so far as power generation is concerned, though this time the allocation is much more than what was there in the earlier year—this time it has gone up by 29.5 per cent— from my own experience, through discussions, I have found that we have not been able to utilize the full capacity for want of power. The industrialists say that they have not been able to get power and that is why they have not been able to utilize their capacity fully. I am of the firm opinion that we have to have a second look at our plan allocations and I feel that the time has come now when we have to take very bold decisions. In respect of power generation, you should see that the generation is to such an extent that we can run out industry to full capacity. So, I feel that before setting up new industries, we must try to give full allocation to the power sector and for manufacturing those inputs which are required for utilizing the existing capacity. We should give full permission to industries to work at full capacity. We must have a review for the next ten years as to how much power is required by the public sector industries and how much is available today. It this is done, you can then say that they can go ahead and produce whatever they want. That is how we would be able to utilize the full capacity and the infrastructure will be completely utilized and the prices will come down. Otherwise, I do not think you can do it and you cannot do it through controls and other things. When you know how much you require for the next ten years, you must liberalise it and then give permission and you must have a review after five years and if you feel that you have given this much and you should not give more, you should not give. This is how you should do it. Otherwise, establishing more industries without power is of no use. This is my suggestion and I am sure that if this is done, then we will get something in this regard.

Now, Madam, I am perturbed by the price rise and I would like to draw the attention of the Prime Minister to some aspects of this question. This is agitating my mind. On the 1st December, 1986, he price of rice increased by 13 per cent, of wheat by 10 percent, of vanaspati by 30 per cent, of edible oils by 22 per cent and of spices by 15 per cent. But, Madam, are the farmers getting any thing out of these increased prices? So far as the procurement prices are concerned, they have gone up by 2-1/2 per cent only while the general prices have gone up very much higher. Who is pocketing the profits? This I would like to know.

Secondly, in the month of December, the arrival of groundnut in the market is in full swing. You are also coming from

[Shri Jagesh Desai]

Maharashtra and I am also coming from Maharashtra. I know something about Gujarat. This is the month in which you see the maximum inflow of groundnut in the market. In spite of that, the disturbing aspect is that for 15th December, 31st December and 15th January they have quoted high prices. I do not understand where we will go. This is the time when the price of groundnut oil should be the lowest. I want to give good price to far. mers. That is our motto.

SHRI VITHALRAO MADHAVRAO JADHAV (Maharashtra): How much do you recommend?

SHRI JAGESH DESAI: As much as possible you give. I don't mind it. The farmers have already parted with the stock. Small farmers are parting with their groundnut at a very low price. There are some big farmers who have the capacity to hold the stock. But most of the stock is hoarded by the business community who will bring it in the market only in the month of June, that is why I feel, that we must try and tell the State Government that they must buy groundnut from the farmers at more than what you have offered. Your offer or the floor prices are very much low. Today it is Rs. 500 or Rs. 600 or Rs 800 per quintal. I think we must guard for the months of June, July, August and September. And if that is not done, I think the price of adible oil will go so high. Even today it is Rs. 20 per kg.

AN HON. MEMBER: Twenty-five.

SHRI JAGESH DESAI: No. Even last year in month of May. It was Rs. 17.

So far as energy part is concerned, I have talked about it. But the most important aspect is regarding pulses and edible oil. As far as pulses are concerned, production has gone down. Oilseed production has gone down. In 1984-85, it was 13.10 million tonnes; in 1985-86 it was 11.20 million tonnes.

As regards the area for the cultivation of pulses and oilseeds, I have seen last figures. From 22 million hectares in 1982-83 it has gone up to 23 million hectares in 1985-86; in four years it has gone up by only one million, that is, 4 per cent in 4 years, that is, 1 per cent per annum. I am surprised to find that the allocation for the year 1985-86 was Rs. 29.94 crores, while in 1986-87 it is Rs. 61.50 crores. I am not able to understand that when you want to have self-sufficiency in edible oils, your allocation in the Plan is only this much.

I do not know why this allocation is not being given from the State sector. The same thing is regarding slum improvement. Madam, we have to look after the urban poor also. Forty lakh people are staying in slums in Bombay. According to my estimate, those who stay in slums *should not be less than about 2 crores.* Here also the allocation has been reduced. It was only 51 crores in 1985-86. Now it has been brought down to 47 crores. Previously, 10 crores were kept in the central sector also. I think it must be for giving amenities to those lands which belong to the Central Government Departments. No such amount has been earmarked. (*Time bell-rings*)

Madam, if you can give me some more time I will be able to do some justice. Any how, I will obey your instructions. I again reiterate three or four points. The first is for giving impetus to pulses and oil seeds. At present, the crop insurance is restricted to only a few districts. Pulses and oil seeds depend on rains. Therefore, the crop insurance should be throughout the country for these two crops. They pay for fertilisers and seeds and if there is no rain, they will get nothing. Therefore, for pulses and seeds, crop insurance should be throughout the country and they must be given fertilisers and improved seeds at concessional rates. Pulses and edible oil seeds are items of daily consumption. Let them have their roti with dal. That is why, I want that we should give all encouragement to pulses and oil seeds.

Secondly, I want the Government to bring out a White Paper on the private sector and its working. I may be wrong. As far as I know, the corporate tax given by the joint stock companies and the public sector may be 40 per cent or 60 per cent. I do not know. But we have to see

that our private sector companies run on the correct lines. Wherever there is siphoning of funds and wherever you feel that they are giving commissions and other things to their own kith and kin, that should be stopped. I can say from my experience that if giving these kinds of monitary benefits to their own people comes under the scrutiny of Parliament. I think we will be able to stop this kind of evil.

I am very happy that even for the 1986-87 plan, the allocation is much more than what we expected. I find that you are mobilising additional resources of 10,000 crores and mostly they are going to defence. I have no objection at all. On the contrary, we have to see that so far as our defence sector is concerned, it should be strengthened in the public sector so that we can have war machines at any time. We have to see that our unity and integrity is not challenged by anyone and we can give them a fitting reply.

With these world, Madam, I support the Resolution brought for war by the hon. Finance Minister.

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : महोदया, वित्त मंत्री जी ने देश की अर्थ-व्यवस्था या आर्थिक स्थिति का जो उत्साहजनक चित्र खींचा है, वह वास्तविकता से मेल नहीं खाता है। गत वर्ष उन्होंने कहा था कि स्टाक-मार्केट ऊंचा जा रहा है, इसलिए स्थिति सुधर रही है। इस वर्ष वह यह दावा भी नहीं कर सकते। अधिक से अधिक लोग कम्पनियों के स्टाक खरीद रहे हैं, यह खुशी की बात है लेकिन ऐसे खरीदने वालों की संख्या भी 13 मिलियन से अधिक नहीं हो सकती है। देश में उद्योगों में पूंजी लगाने का वातावरण बना है, यह खुशी की बात है और इसके लिए यदि लिबरलाइजेशन की नीति अपनाई गई है तो उसका विरोध नहीं होना चाहिए। लेकिन लिबरलाइजेशन के नाम पर जो अंधा-धुंध विदेशों से आयात करने की छूट दी जा रही है वह हमारे लिए कठिनाइयां पैदा कर रही है। मैं उस पर बाद में थोड़ा सा कुछ कहूंगा।

उपसभापति महोदया, वित्त मंत्री ने अपने बयान में बहुत से आंकड़े दिए हैं। मैं भी उनके सामने कुछ आंकड़े रखना चाहता हूं। आंकड़े बोलते हैं और सच्चाई के मुंह पर पड़ा हुआ पर्दा खोलते हैं।

क्या कोई इस बात से इंकार कर सकता है कि कीमतें बढ़ रही हैं? गत वर्ष इन दिनों कंजयूमर प्राइज इंडेक्स 619 था अब 700 है। वित्त मंत्री जी इसे मोसमी वृद्धि कर कर नहीं टाल सकते। मुझे लगाता है कि वित्त मंत्री जी के लिए सारा मौसम ही बिगड़ रहा है बसंत आने से पहले ही पतझड़ शुरू हो गई है।

क्या यह सच नहीं है कि रुपये की क्रय शक्ति निरन्तर घटती जा रही है। मार्च 1985 में एक रुपये की असली कीमत 17 पैसे थी, सितम्बर 1986 में वह घटकर 14.79 पैसे रह गई है। रुपये का अघोषित अवमूल्यन हो गया है, सरकारी घोषणा के अनुसार नहीं, अघोषित। क्या यह सच नहीं है कि पौंड की तुलना में रुपये की कीमत 20 फीसदी घट गई है, ड्यूस मार्क की तुलना में 30 परसेंट घट गई है और येन की तुलना में 40 परसेंट कम हो गई है?

क्या यह सच नहीं कि देश पर कर्जा बढ़ा है? अगर यह कहा जाए कि देश कर्ज में डूब रहा है तो अतिशयोक्ति नहीं होगी। 1986-87 में सार्वजनिक ऋण की राशि एक लाख आठ हजार पैंसठ करोड़ हो गई है जो कुल जी० एन० पी० का 48 परसेंट है। इसमें देश के भीतर और विदेश से लिया गया कर्जा दोनों शामिल हैं। एक चौथाई कर्जा विदेशी है। आई० एम० एफ० से पांच साल पहले 50 अरब रुपये का जो ऋण लिया गया था उसकी अदायगी इस वर्ष शुरू होगी। ऐसा लगता है कि डैट, सर्विसिंग में लगभग 30 परसेंट चला जाएगा। इसका अर्थ यह हुआ कि यदि निर्यात बढ़ाकर और निर्यात बढ़ाना जरूरी है और इस संबंध में अगर ठीक कदम उठाए जाते हैं तो हम उसका समर्थन करेंगे, लेकिन निर्यात बढ़ाकर अगर हम एक रुपया कमायेंगे तो उसमें से 28 या 30 पैसे कर्जे का ब्याज अदा करने में चले जायेंगे।

[श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी]

विदेशी व्यापार का घाटा घटने के भी कोई असार नहीं हैं। 1985-86 में 8,600 करोड़ का घाटा था । विदेशी माल का अंधा-धुंध आयात किया गया। अब हमारे उद्योगपति भी उनके विरूद्ध शिकायत करने लग हैं । अभी तक विदेशी मंत्री और व्यापार मंत्री एक ही थे।

वित्त मंत्री (श्री विश्वनाथ प्रताप सिंह) : एक सूचना देना चाहता हूं कि इस वर्ष जो आयात के आंकड़े आये हैं वाजपेयी जी, 6 महीने के सितम्बर के आंकड़े हमको कामर्स सेक्रेटरी दिखा रहे थे आयात की वृद्धि केवल 1.1 प्रतिशत है ।

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र (बिहार): पहले वाली नीति नहीं है। आपने कई चीजों पर रोक लगाई है । वी० सी० आर० नहीं आने देना है । यह तो आपने रेस्ट्रिक्ट किया है । (धन्यवाद)। . . . **(व्यवधान)**

श्री विश्वनाथ प्रताप सिंह : मैं नतीजा बता रहा हूं ।

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र : हमने कहा कि अब आप पुरानी नीति से बदले हैं, जागरूक हैं, यही हम कह सकते हैं, लेकिन गलत बात किया इतना तो कह दें **(व्यवधान)**

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : महोदया, अगर थोड़ा सा सुधार हुआ है मरीज की हालत में तो हमें गुरेज नहीं है।

1.00 P.M.

लेकिन वित्त मंत्री महोदय इस भ्रम में न रहें कि मरीज हट्टा-कट्टा हो गया है और प्रगति के पथ पर दौड़ने के लिए तैयार है । वह छह महीने की बात कर रहे हैं अगले छह महीने में क्या होगा, वित्त मंत्री महोदय भी विश्वास के साथ नहीं बता सकते, विश्वनाथ प्रताप सिंह होते हुए भी विश्वास के साथ बताना मुश्किल है।

उपसभापति महोदया, समस्या टुकड़ों में नहीं देखी जा सकती । क्या विदेश मंत्रालय को और व्यापार मंत्रालय को एक करने का फैसला गलत नहीं था ? यह फैसला कैसे हुआ ? हारकर उसको बदलना पड़ा लेकिन जो नुकसान होना था वह हो गया । लेकिन यह एक राजनीतिक सवाल है, मैं इस बहस में अधिक राजनीतिक सवाल नहीं लाना चाहता ।

महोदया, बेरोजगारी भी बढ़ रही है। रोजगार की तलाश में नाम लिखाने वालों की संख्या में वर्ष 1985 में 11 प्रतिशत की वृद्धि हुई । हमारे एक अनस्टार्ड क्वेश्चन नंबर 1334 के उत्तर में श्रम मंत्री महोदय ने स्वीकार किया कि यह तादाद दिसम्बर, 1985 में 262.7 लाख थी, जो अगस्त, 1986 में बढ़कर 288.5 लाख हो गयी । श्रम मंत्री महोदय ने यह भी कहा कि जिनके पास रोजगार हैं, वे भी अपना नाम लिखा देते हैं। मगर इसके साथ ही यह भी सही है कि जो बेरोजगार हैं, वे भी अपना नाम नहीं लिखाते हैं । बेरोजगारी में वृद्धि हो रही है, इस तथ्य से इंकार नहीं किया जा सकता ।

महोदया, यह भी स्पष्ट है कि सरकारी खर्च में वृद्धि हो रही है । वित्त मंत्री महोदय ने वायदे किये थे और उन्होंने कुछ कदम भी उठाये हैं, जिनके अनुसार गर योजना व्यय में कमी की कोशिश हुई है । मगर वह कोशिश सफल नहीं हुई ।

पूरक मांगों का एक अपूरक सिलसिला चल निकला है । जुलाई में पहली किस्त आयी थी, अब दूसरी किस्त तैयार है। पहली किस्त में 6 अरब 64 करोड़ मांगे गये थे और अब 30 अरब 38 करोड़ 54 लाख रुपए की मंजूरी मांगी गयी है । दोनों को जोड़ लीजिए, तो महोदया, यह राशि 37 अरब से ऊपर होती है । चालू वर्ष में बजट के घाटे का अनुमान 36 अरब था और पूरक मांगें 37 अरब की हैं । घाटा अनुमान से ज्यादा है, खर्च अनुमान से अधिक है । सरकार को साढ़े सात हजार रुपए के घाटे का प्रबन्ध करना होगा ।

वित्त मंत्री महोदय ने अपने वक्तव्य में स्वीकार किया है कि ब्याज की अदायगी का खर्च बढ़कर अब 10,150 करोड़ हो जायेगा, रक्षा-व्यय में वृद्धि से लगभग 11,900 करोड़ खर्च बढ़ने की आशा कर रहे

हैं, स्पष्टतया चौथे वेतन आयोग ने सरकार पर अधिक बोझा डाला है उसके कारण प्रदेशों में जो समस्यायें पैदा हो रही हैं, मुझे विश्वास है वित्त मंत्री महोदय, उनसे अनभिज्ञ नहीं होंगे।

सार्वजनिक उद्योगों में काम करने वाले, केन्द्रीय कार्यालयों में काम करने वाले और राज्यों के कार्यालयों में काम करने वाले कर्मचारियों के वेतन में अब असमानता नहीं चलेगी। इसके लिए साधन कहां से जुटाए जाएंगे? यह एक बड़ा प्रश्न -चिह्न है। लेकिन हम केन्द्र में वेतन बढ़ा दें, अधिक सुबिधाएं दे दें और राज्यों के कर्मचारियों को और नगर पालिकाओं के कर्मचारियों को उनसे वंचित रखें तो यह आज के युग के युगधर्म के विपरीत है। यह धर्म कसंट वित्तमंत्री महोदय, यह मैं जानना चाहता हूं।

श्री विश्वनाथ प्रताप सिंह : आप अर्थ नीति में बोल रहे हैं या राजनीति में?

एक माननीय सदस्य : दोनों में... **(व्यवधान)**...

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : महोदया, सवाल यह है कि सरकार क्या करने जा रही है। गैर-योजना व्यय में कटौती कैसे होगी, कितनी होगी? कल डा० झा ने वेस्ट (फिजूलखर्ची) का सवाल उठाया था यह सवाल बड़ा महत्वपूर्ण है। जो गैर-योजना व्यय है, उसमें बरबादी हो रही है, अपव्यय हो रहा है, जो योजना का व्यय है, वह भी ठीक तरह से और कामों में नहीं लग रहा है। रक्षा के लिये जो व्यय हो रहा है, क्या उसमें भी बचत की गुंजाइश है?

लेकिन सवाल यह है कि देश में सादगी का, आस्टेरटी का वेस्ट को अवायड करने का वातावरण नहीं है अगर दिल्ली में खेल तमाशों का तांता लगा रहेगा तो सादगी का वातावरण बन भी नहीं सकता।

महोदया, जिस गति से विदेशी कम्पनियों के साथ गठबंधनों के समझौते हो रहे हैं और बहु–राष्ट्रीय कम्पनियों के दरवाजे खोले जा रहे हैं उससे स्वावलम्बन के राष्ट्रीय लक्ष्य के खतरे में पड़ने की आशंका हो रही है। क्या विदेशी कम्पनियां हमारे विकास के लिए लालायित हैं? या उनकी दृष्टि अपने लाभ पर है, हमारे विकास पर नहीं? उन्हें विकास नहीं, हमारा बाजार चाहिए, उन्हें हमारा सस्ता श्रम चाहिए। कूपर्स एंड लाइब्रेन मल्टी नेशनल कम्पनी के चेयरमैन के भाषण के कुछ अंश मैंने पढ़े हैं, वे चौंका देने वाले हैं। मैं उद्धृत कर रहा हूं––

"Hundred million people classified as middle-class, living largely in four cities suggest a highly targetable market for American industrial goods and services. In many ways, India ranks among the top five markets in the world from the perspective of attractiveness and growth for the U. S. manufacturers."

अगर वित्त मंत्री चाहें तो उसे प्रशंसापत्र मान सकते हैं, लेकिन मुझे खतरे की घंटी सुनाई दे रही है। वह हमारी ऐसी तारीफों का पुल बांध रहे हैं जिसके ऊपर चलना तो सम्भव ही नहीं है, नीचे से पास करना भी मुश्किल दिखाई दे रहा है––

"India should able to sustain an average 15-year growth rate in excess of 7 per cent annually. This puts it among the fastest growing countries in the world."

हमारा ग्रोथ रेट का एवरेज 3.5 परसेंट है। 150 मिलियन टन पर हमारा अन्न का उत्पादन स्टेगनेट हो गया है, ऐसा लगता है। औद्योगिक विकास जिस गति से होना चाहिए नहीं हो रहा है लेकिन बहु–राष्ट्रीय कम्पनियों को वह दिखाई दे रहा है कि 7 परसेंट ग्रोथ रेट हो सकता है प्रति वर्ष और यह सिलसिला 15 साल तक लगातार चलता रहेगा ऐसा आशावाद न तो वित्त मंत्रालय में है, न प्लानिंग कमीशन में। इसके पीछे रहस्य क्या है, यह मैं जानना चाहता हूं। अब तो अमरीकनों में और जापानियों में होड़ हो रही है कि भारत के बाजारों पर कौन कब्जा करता है। ग्रेडी मीन्स ने कहा है ––

"Aggressiveness of the Japanese corporation in Indian markets is a matter for concern."

[श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी]

जापान क्यों घुस रहा है, अमरीका पीछे क्यों रह रहा है। एक होड़ चल रही है और अगर हम समझते हैं कि यह भारत के विकास में योग देने के लिए लालायित हैं तो मैं समझता हूं कि हम देश के साथ न्याय नहीं करेंगे।

उपसभापति महोदया, मैं थोड़ा सा नाजुक सवाल उठाना चाहता हूं। क्या प्रधान मंत्री और वित्त मंत्री के बीच पूरा मतैक्य है? क्या कोई कम्युनिकेशन गैप तो नहीं है? 18 सितम्बर को ...

श्री विश्वनाथ प्रताप सिंह : आप इधर आकर लिंक बन जाइए।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : अब हमारे पुराने मित्र अर्जुन सिंह कम्युनिकेशन मिनिस्टर बन गए हैं तो कम्युनिकेशन गैप हो जाय तो कोई ताज्जुब नहीं होना चाहिए। लेकिन 18 सितम्बर को—मैं इसे गम्भीरता से रखना चाहता हूं—प्रधान मंत्री ने कलकत्ता में उद्योगपतियों के साथ जो बातचीत की और उस बातचीत का जो विवरण श्री पोद्दार ने बताया उससे ऐसा लगता है कि बड़े घरानों पर छापा मारने के बारे में प्रधान मंत्री ने जो गाइडलाइन दी थी उनका वित्त मंत्रालय ने पालन नहीं किया। क्या यह सच है? अगर यह सच है तो बड़ा दुर्भाग्यपूर्ण है, इसका निराकरण होना चाहिए। वित्त मंत्री महोदय ने पहले लिबरलाइजेशन किया, टैक्स घटाए, उन्होंने इस बात का मौका दिया कि जिन्होंने गलत तरीके से पैसा कमाया है उसके बारे में घोषणा करें, उस पर जितना टैक्स अदा करना है, अदा करें। मैं समझता हूं कि यह प्रारम्भ में सही था। पहले तो समय देते, फिर छापा मारते जो ज्यादा अच्छा होता। लेकिन अब क्या छापे सेलेक्टिव मारे जायेंगे। क्या राजनीतिक कारणों से छापामार कार्यवाही होगी?

दूसरी बात मैं यह पूछना चाहता हूं कि पब्लिक सेक्टर के बारे में केन्द्र के दो मंत्रियों में जो विवाद चल रहा है, सार्वजनिक विवाद चल रहा है—एक मंत्री दूसरे मंत्री को डान क्विकजोट और सैंकोपांजा कहते हैं और दोनों मंत्री मंत्रिमण्डल में हैं, दोनों मंत्री पब्लिक सेक्टर को बढ़ाने की बातें कर रहे हैं यह कहां तक ठीक है (व्यवधान) मैं लड़ाना नहीं चाहता लड़ाई खत्म कराना चाहता हूं। सरकार का दृष्टिकोण पब्लिक सेक्टर के बारे में साफ होना चाहिए। उसके अंधाधुंध विस्तार के हम खिलाफ रहे हैं, आज से नहीं, पहले से ही। हम ने कहा है कि एक्सप्रैशन नहीं कंसालिडेशन होना चाहिए। आप लाभ करके दिखाइये। लेकिन सरकार की नीति डावांडोल है। पब्लिक सैक्टर से मिलने वाले लाभ के बल पर सातवीं पंचवर्षीय योजना का सारा ढांचा खड़ा है। केवल एक बजाज या टाटा को इंडियन एयरलाइन्स या एयर इंडिया का हेड बनाने से काम नहीं चलेगा। अगर देना है तो टाटा को स्टील का प्रबंध सौंप दें अगर करना है तो। (व्यवधान) मेरा कहना है कि यह सब दिखाने के लिये मत कीजिए। बजाज और टाटा को इंडियन एयरलाइन्स और एयर इंडिया में लाने मात्र से काम नहीं चलेगा। पब्लिक सेक्टर को झकझोर कर उसे देश के विकास को इस के माध्यम से बनाने में आप को कौन सी कठिनाई आ रही है यह समझ में नहीं आ रहा। राज्यों के जो उद्योग हैं, जो अंडरटेकिंग्स हैं उन की हालत और भी खराब है। बिजली घरों में वहां अंधेरे है। बसें चलतीं नहीं। गोल माल है, भ्रष्टाचार है। यह राज्य कल आप के पास आने वाले हैं अपने कर्मचारियों को अधिक वेतन देने के लिये। फाइनेंस कमीशन की सिफारिशों में वह संशोधन मांगेंगे। उनके साथ बैठ कर भी विचार करिये कि किस तरह से यह घाटा कम किया जा सकता है। किस तरह से वित्तीय साधन जुटाये जा सकते हैं।

एक बात और। आप उद्योगपतियों से चर्चा करते रहे हैं। उन से मिलना चाहिए। हमारे वित्त मंत्री एक खुली हवा का झोंका लेकर आये हैं। मैं उस का स्वागत करता हूं। बधाई देना चाहता हूं, लेकिन मैं बधाई दे नहीं

रहा हूं क्योंकि मेरी बधाई उनके खिलाफ जा सकती है। यह हो सकता है कि कोई प्रधान मंत्री को जाकर कहे कि वाजपेयी वित्त मंत्री की तारीफ कर रहा था तो वहां सोचा जाय कि जरूर कुछ गड़बड़ है। दाल में कुछ काला है। यह खुलापन अच्छी चीज है, लेकिन मेरा निवेदन यह है कि आप जिस तरह से उद्योग और व्यापार के प्रतिनिधियों से बात करते हैं उसी तरह से किसानों और उपभोक्ताओं के प्रतिनिधियों से बात क्यों नहीं करते। क्या किसानों को उनकी सफल की उचित कीमत मिल रही है? क्या कीमतें बढ़ती हैं तो उस का लाभ किसान तक पहुंचता है? या बीच में ही लोग उसे खा जाते हैं? क्या इस बीच के मुनाफे को कम नहीं किया जा सकता? और दूसरी बात मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि क्या उद्योगपतियों से चर्चा करके आप यह तय नहीं कर सकते कि कारखाने में बनने वाले माल की लागत क्या है, उस पर विभिन्न टैक्स क्या हैं और उस पर मोटेतौर पर मुनाफा क्या होना चाहिए। क्या इस तरह विवरण देश के सामने नहीं रखा जा सकता? (व्यवधान)

हमने नागपुर में प्रोफेसरों के एक ग्रुप से इसका अध्ययन कराया था। एक लोकप्रिय कंपनी का स्कूटर जो 12000 में बिक रहा है वह लागत खर्चा लगा कर, टैक्स जोड़ कर और 4 परसेंट मुनाफा भी शामिल करके उस स्कूटर की कीमत कि भी हालत 7.8 हजार से ज्यादा नहीं होनी चाहिए। क्या यह 12,000 की कीमत अधिक नहीं है? जो साबुन एक रुपये 25 पैसे में बनता है और 5 रुपये में बिकता है उस पर कितना टैक्स है यह हमको पता लगना चाहिए। खरीदने वाले को पता लगना चाहिए कि केन्द्र का टैक्स क्या है, प्रदेश का टैक्स क्या है और इस पर कितना मुनाफा है। उचित मुनाफा मिलना चाहिए। उचित मुनाफे के बिना कोई उद्योग नहीं चलायेगा, मगर अंधाधुंध मुनाफा, इस गरीब देश के आदमी की कीमत पर मुनाफा, मैं चाहूंगा कि वित्त मंत्री महोदय इस पहलू पर विचार करें। धन्यवाद।

SHRI RAMESHWAR THAKUR (Bihar): Madam, Deputy Chairman, I would like to congratulate the hon. Finance Minister for a very objective assessment of the present economic situation in the country as well as his innovative statement on projection of resources for the Central Plan for 1987-88, as part of the progressive long-term fiscal policy.

The Finance Minister has precisely indicated the areas of strength of the economy, successful financing of 40 per cent of the Central Plan during the first two years of the Seventh Five Year Plan and stepping up the programmes for rural development, increased performance of infrastructure, record new capital issues, large collection of taxes and comfortable foreign exchange position. He has also indicated the areas of concern, which are mostly in the spheres of balance of payment, rapid hike in government expenditure, increase in subsidies and so on. He has also given us the figures for the next year 1987-88, giving indication of the total Plan outlay for 1987-88 and the revenue that is likely to be collected, deficit of the plan of the order of nearly Rs. 5,000 crores, as well as the extent of the non-plan expenditure and the balance resource availability for the Plan.

In this connection I would like to say that we have to see the projections for the next year and also the current economic situation in the context of the overall targets fixed for the Seventh Five Year Plan, achievements made during the Sixth Plan, achievements actually made or likely to be made during the first two years of the Plan and also the projections that we have made and whether they are in accordance with the cherished targets fixed for the Seventh Five Year Plan.

In the Sixth Plan, as we aware, the growth rate was targeted at 5.2 per cent which was achieved. In the Seventh Plan we have the target of 5 per cent and it is expected that during the first two years the rate of growth would not reach exactly five per cent, but it is expected that the shortfall will be covered during the subsequent years. The agriculture target

[Shri Rameshwar Thakur]

during the Sixth Plan was 3.8 per cent. Actual achievement was 4.3 per cent. The target for the Seventh Plan is four per cent which we hope should be achieved. And in the case of industrial growth, the target for the Sixth Plan was 8 per cent. There was a shortfall. We actually achieved 5.5 per cent and the target for the Seventh Plan is 8.3 per cent.

The gross savings target was 24.5 per cent. actually achieved was 23.5 per cent. Now we have to see that these targets that we have fixed for the Seventh Plan are achieved. There are certain amendments. Some Members who have spoken earlier have touched upon the basic goals of the planning, so far as the basic aims and objectives are concerned, I would like to state that they have been very much emphasized not only in the Plan document but in the annual budget, in the long-term fiscal policy, and they are: growth, modernisation, self-reliance as well as social justice. There are deficiencies in certain areas, as pointed out by some of the hon. Members and I would like to emphasize some of them here.

Certainly the goals are there and there have been achievements in various areas in accordance with the goals and targets planned for the first two years of the Seventh Five Year Plan. The central element in the development strategy of the Seventh Plan was generation of productive employment. This was expected to be achieved and we have to see it from the angle whether we are able to do it, where the deficiencies are, and if we take this up systematically, in a constructive manner now we are going to remove them, then only we will reach to logical conclusion. The first was generation of productive empoyment where it suggested increased facilities for irrigation. Now in this connection, I would like to suggest that in order to step up the agricultural prodction, it is necessary that we should make more allocation during the next year for irrigation and there the minor irrigation should receive more importance.

The second was extension of new agricultural technologies, particularly to rural areas. This is very important and this was highighted in the speech of the Prime Minister to the National Development Council. I think, this area needs much more attention which will give us added growth with new technologies and better inputs in agriculture, including seeds, fertilisers and others.

The third was rural development programmes. This has to be made more effective. Creation of productive employment is feasible only when we effectively utilise more funds. We find in the Supplementary Demands which were brought to us, about 400 and old crores of rupees have been provided for rural development programmes. As we are aware, about 37 per cent of the people are below the poverty line and the target for 1989-90 is to bring it down to 26 per cent. It is essential that much emphasis should be put and more provision should be made not only of funds but creation of productive assets in an effective way, so that people below the poverty line could be reduced to the desired level and if possible, more than that should be acheived—meaning thereby that by the end of the Plan, it should be less than 26 per cent.

The other aspects which are there are labour intensive construction activities. This was emphasised by Mr. L. K. Jha yesterday and we should increase the labour intensive activities content in the rural development programmes. We should certainly give more foodgrains than what we are giving today, when we have got a comfortable balance of more than 28 million tonnes. In the morning there was a discussion that we are losing substantial amounts in upkeep, storage of food stocks and blockade of funds. Certainly a reasonable stock must be kept for the uncertainties of future years, but at the same time when we have comfortable stock of foodgrains, it is essential that we should give more foodgrains for Food for Work Programme in the rural areas. This will positively help the rural people in many respects, particularly the people, below the poverty line.

Next is facilities for education and health. Apart from economic goals, the

human development aspect is also equally important. For that quality of education, particularly in rural areas, and health facilities, particularly for the tribals and for scheduled castes and other weaker sections of the community, have to be substantially increased.

Other aspects of increase in productivity have been outlined in the Seventh Five Year Plan. These are the areas which are there in the document, in which we have to do much more. One is efficient use of capital. This is very important, whether it is public sector or private sector. It has become essential in view of the strain on the economy. Therefore it is necessary for us to examine this aspect in much more depth. The capital output ratio should improve substantially. The other thing is adoption of cost efficient methods and reduction in cost. A great deal of exercise is required for this, apart from enhancement of capacity utilization and also the overhead expenses have to be reduced.

Per unit cost has to be reduced. So, there are a number of places in the manufacturing areas as well as in the agricultural areas where possibly we should try to reduce the costs an overheads. Reduction in the subsidies will also be necessary. That is possible when we reduce the overhead cost in the case of the Food Corporation of India and, the Fertilizer Corporations and their production cost per unit and the carrying cost per unit has to be reduced. Then only we will be able to reduce subsidy. It is essential because from the total subsidy as we have planned in the Seventh Plan and the figures given by the Finance Minister now, it seems to me that if we go at this rate, our figures will increase much more than what is provided for in the Plan. Similarly there are other areas.

Briefly, I would like to mention about foodgrains. In the case of foodgrains, the Sixth Pan target was 153.60 million tonnes and the actual achievement was around that, that is, 152.37 million tonnes. In the case of the Seventh Plan our target is 178 to 183 million tonnes and in the Annual Plan of 1985-86 actually we have achieved 159.5 million tonnes. The target for 1986-87 is 160 million tonnes. There have been certain doubts in the minds of people that one crop is over and it seems it may be difficult to achieve the target and therefore we have to take precautions, and they are asking what steps are being taken for the next crop so that the target is achieved.

In the case of oilseeds, even now our situation is very alarming, as has been pointed out by many Members. In the Sixth Plan the target was 13 million tonnes and we had achieved 12.69 million tonnes. But, as we know, the target for 1985-86 was 13.60 million tonnes and we achieved only 11.20 million tonnes. So there are difficulties. The target for next year is 14.80 million tonnes. I would say that particularly in the case of oilseeds special efforts have to be made and certain incentives have to be given as mentioned by Members including relief in excise on production and certain other incentives to agriculturists including remunerative prices so that this gap is met.

In the case of sugarcane we had a target of 215 million tonnes and we have achieved 174 million in the Sixth Plan. In the Seventh Plan our target is 217 million tonnes. Anticipation for the year 1985-86 was 191 million tonnes against which we achieved 175 million tonnes. The target for 1986-87 is 185 to 190 million tonnes.

Now, in the case of foodgrains I have only one request to make. Apart from oilseeds, we should try to develop dry farming in this country because at present we are not able to provide facilities for dry farming everywhere. If these facilities are provided, it will help the production of oilseeds and other items of food. A special committee roport of the Reserve Bank of India in 1984 has said that in the eastern zone particularly, certain infrastructural facilities should be there to improve its agricultural performance for which there is potential. Therefore, efforts should be made to implement the report given by the Reserve Bank of India in this regard.

In regard to industrial production, in 1982-83 our target was 5.3 per cent, in 1983-84 it was 5.3 per cent and in 1984

[Shri Rameshwar Thakur]

85 it was 5.8 per cent. In 1985-86 we have achieved 6.2 per cent. Therefore, if we see the targets, though in certain respects we fulfilled the targets in 1985-86, that is cement, fertilizers, soda ash, nylon filament, jute manufacture, sugar, synthetics and others in other areas there have been difficulties, shortfalls have been recorded, and if we take the total figure they do not reach the target. There are other areas like mining machinery, agricultural tractors, machines tools, etc., where we were in shortage. In regard to industrial sickness, it is very important that we should try to improve the position. Otherwise a large amount of capital is blocked and not being utilized and labourers are unemployed and not getting jobs.

Therefore, of the total bank credit, about 8 per cent is invested today in sick industries. Their number was 66,062 in 1983. This has risen to 99,668 in 1985. And the amount involving of the banks has increased from Rs. 2,793 crores to Rs. 3,900 crores. More important is the balance of payment. We find that the situation has gone very difficult.

[THE Vice-Chairman (Shri M.P. Kaushik), in the Chair]

Some Members have already suggested in the case of imports it has increased from Rs. 12,549 crores in 1980-81 to Rs. 19,622 crores in 1985-86. And exports have gone up from Rs. 6,711 crores to Rs. 11,296 crores in 1985-86, thereby our deficit which was Rs. 5,838 crores in 1980-81 has gone up to Rs. 8.326 crores in 1985-86. This is heartening to note as the hon. Finance Minister has stated that during the year 1986-87 a slight improvement has been made. I hope that with the efforts being made as contemplated in the document, we will have better balance in the foreign trade so that we are able to meeet our commitments and would not have much problem.

Another hon. Member mentioned that the rise in price index. The wholesale index in October 1985 of all commodities was 361, and in October 1984-85 it was 384. So, the total increase was round 6.3 per cent. And for primary articles it was 331.8 in 1985. It has gone up to 358, in October, 1986. That is 7.9 per cent increase. Primarily one thing is to be noted, as has been reported by the RBI, that the all-commodities index has increased, but actually the increase has been more in cereals of 11.9 per cent, in rice of 4.7 per cent and wheat of 16.4 per cent, during 85-86. There has been a decrease in the case of other items. The wholesale price index for tea was (—) 23.9 and other food articles (—) 21.3 and certain non-food articles (—) 9.7 per cent. So the overall position is increase within single digit.

So far as the consumer price index is concerned. I think the correct picture was not given by a member from the other side. As per the figures available, in September, 1985 it was actually 619. It was 5 per cent increase over the last year. In September, 1986 the figure as reported is 676 which is nearly 9 per cent increase. There are other figures, but I would not like to take the time of the hon. members. But so far as this Plan is concerned, the next year's position is concerned, I have a few suggestions to make.

One is in regard to capacity utilisation. As has been suggested by the Finance Minister himself, a very detailed exercise is required to be made in the three sectors—the public sector, the private sector and the sick industry. Secondly, though we have got the tax revenue increase anticipated which was about 8.4 per cent increase over 1985-86 in 1986-87 now the projected figure is 11.2 per cent increase over the previous year in projected year of 1987-88. My suggestion in regard to this would be that this seems to be a realistic figure, and with better management, possibly it can go up. The other non-tax revenue is also quite substantial. It is indicated here. It was 10 per cent increase in last year over the previous year. It seems to be 15 per cent increase projected for 87-88 which comes to 7,900 crores in the non-tax revenue. Of the total revenue it seems to be very substantial. But my one worry is that the projected deficit of Rs. 5,000 crores seems to be on the high side because the total deficit financing during the seventh

Five-Year Plan, as indicated, is of the order of Rs. 14,000 crores. We have deficit of Rs. 3,600 crores already in the original budget. Then we have Rs. 1,318 crores in the first supplementary, and the second supplementary has also come, and we have Rs. 3,038 crores, additional expenses. These are three items which have already taken over to Rs. 7,500 crores. Of course, there was an improvement on the revenue side by about Rs. 600 crores, after the supplementary. The document of the hon. Finance Minister is silent on how to reduce deficit, but there should be some way to ensure reduction in the deficit. Otherwise it will create problems in two directions. First, it might bring about certain degree of more inflation. Secondly, it might create problems for financing the plan and certain essential non-plan expenditure. In this connection I would suggest one thing. In the non-plan expenditure side, the payment of interest has increased by about 16 per cent this year. The expenditure on Defence has also increased. The subsidy has also gone up by 10 per cent. It was only one per cent above over the previous year, but the total amount of subsidy this year is Rs. 4,680 crores. The subsidy to the farmers is necessary. Therefore, I would urge upon the Finance Minister to ensure that the cost overheads in the element of subsidy is reduced. You have to ensure that the real element of subsidy goes to the farmers and others who deserve it and not to the manufacturers and the middlemen for whom it is not intended. I think the Minister will give a careful consideration to this. It is also necessary that the plan expenditure of which no details has been given is likely to be more this time. The balance of resource which was 1.3 per cent in the year 1986-87 over the year 1985-86 is going to be 2.9 per cent That is for the year 1987-88 it is expected to be of the order of Rs. 21,700 crores. It would have been better if the Finance Minister had given us indications about the receipts and also about the plan and non-plan expenditure and how he proposed to distribute them under various heads, and what priority he proposes to give to the rural development. I hope in the coming budget he will give details about various modernisation and improvement of sick industries and the agricultural infrastructural facility, including irregular power.

In regard to the non-plan expenditure, though the Finance Minister has rightly said that he cannot make a blanket cut of 5 per cent, I would urge him that on selective basis the expenditure needs to be curtailed. There must be an awareness among all the sections of the people, including the Government departments and public sector undertakings that every rupee means a lot. Where there is scarcity in all the sectors, it is essential for us to reduce expenditure to enable our surplus to be invested in the public developmental activities.

The Finance Minister has given us projects. This exercise is first in the history of planning and budgeting in our country. This has been done three months ahead of the Budget. I would urge that the Finance Ministry should apply its mind and the figures which have been given should be given along with one more improvement. In the data supplied the revised estimates for 1985-86 have been compared. Actually, the actual figures relating to 1985-86 should have been given and they should have been compared with the revised estimates for 1986-87. Then it would have been a better comparison.

Lastly, I would say that this bold initiative for the economic development of the country, for the resource mobilisation and for the growth of agriculture and industry undertaken under the overall guidance of he Prime Minister should be continued and the commanding position given to the public sector should be maintained. Efforts should be not only to maintain its comanding position, but more care should be taken also to better its performance. For this a lot of exercise is needed. With these words I thank the Finance Minister for the innovation that he has brought about in the new projections and also for the realistic economic situation that he has placed before us. All sections of the people including agriculturists and workers should put their mind and heart to ensure an economy which will really help the quality of life of the people of this country.

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, वित्त मंत्री जी ने जो सब्जबाग दिखलाया है भारत की आर्थिक नीति के बारे में वह अगर सही होता तो मुझे प्रसन्नता होती कि हां वही बात है, अच्छी बात है । मेरा दूसरा ख्याल है । इसीलिए आपसे कहना चाहूंगा कि वह स्थिति नहीं है बल्कि इसके विपरीत स्थिति है । आपने भारत के पूंजीपतियों को पिछले 2 वर्षों में काफी रियायतें दी हैं, टैक्स में छूट दी है, जनरल एमनेस्टी की है, चोरी जो की उससे छूट दी है । उसका क्या रिफ्लेक्शन हो रहा है क्या वे आम जनता को उसके मुताबिक राहत दे रहे हैं ? तो हम लोग देखते हैं कि विदेशी मुद्रा का संकट उपस्थित हो गया है, मूल्य वृद्धि हो गयी, रुपये के मूल्य में कमी हो गयी है औद्योगिक प्रगति के रेट में कोई खास वृद्धि नहीं हुई है बल्कि ह्रास की तरफ जा रहे हैं । पिछले तीन वर्षों में यही देखा जा रहा है । सबसे बड़ी बात यह है कि जो बड़े औद्योगिक घराने हैं जिनको आपने लक्ष्मी का अवतार समझा था वे आपके कहने के मुताबिक यहां से धन चुराकर स्विस बैंक्स में रख रहे हैं और प्रधान मंत्री के कहने के मुताबिक वे एक्सपोर्ट करने में कोई सहयोग नहीं दे रहे हैं यही उनकी करामात है । तो आपने उनको यह सब दिया और उन्होंने देश को मूल्य वृद्धि दी, कृषि की शून्य प्रगति हुई और रुपये में बराबर ह्रास हुआ तथा सबसे बुरी बात जो रही है वह यह कि देश एक भयानक स्थिति की ओर जा रहा है जिसका अभी मंत्री महोदय ने जिक्र नहीं किया है । मैं अपनी बात कहते हुए दूसरों का भी मूल्यांकन रख रहा हूं : यह नवम्बर के कामर्स अखबार से है :

> "If there is a significant improvement in these trends, which is not very likely the overall growth rate may turn out to be same as last year's. All in all, the economy seems to have failed to pick up."

इतनी राहत दे करके, गरीबों से लूट करके हमने इनको जो दे दिया, इनसे हमको क्या मिला । एक काम आप अच्छा कर रहे थे कि इनके घरों में छापामारी कर रहे थे । इसके लिए हम पहले भी बधाई दे चुके हैं अभी भी देना चाहते हैं लेकिन बीच में जो छोड़ दिया है उससे तो हम समझते हैं कि इनका मन सशक्त हो जायेगा फिर आपको ये बाध्य करेंगे । एक ही काम आप अच्छा कर रहे थे लेकिन कर घटा करके नहीं जो कर थे वही वसूलते, पहले की सरकार ने कड़ाई की होती तो और धन आपको मिलता ।

इसी तरह से गरीब योजना के हम समर्थन में हैं लेकिन मैं कहना चाहूंगा यह भी इसी अखबार से है, यह कोई कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी का अखबार नहीं है :

> "The concurrent evaluation of the Programme, however, disclosed that in 23 per cent of the cases surveyed, there has been no increase in the income from assets provided. In 30 per cent of the cases, the assets were not intact, either sold, fully perished, partly perished or defective."

यह गरीबी हटाओ योजना के संबंध में है । अब जो बात थे आपसे कहना चाहता था वह यह कि आपकी नयी नीति का सबसे भयानक परिणाम होगा और मैं आपको पहले ही कह दूं आपके एक माननीय सदस्य झा जी ने कहा था कि हम समाजवादी लोग लाइसेंस, परमिट को समाजवाद कहते हैं तो हम लोग इसमें नहीं हैं । उस तरह के समाजवादी लोग आप ही थे, हम लोगों ने पहले भी आपको समाजवादी नहीं समझा और अब तो समझने की बात ही नहीं है और अगर उन्होंने समझा तो यह उनका अपना ख्याल है ।

अभी मैं एक उद्धरण दे रहा हूं । यह आपके एसोसियेटेड चैम्बर्स आफ कामर्स ने आपकी नीति के मुताबिक नये भारत को नये रास्ते पर ले जाने का एक वर्कशाप किया था उसमें उन्होंने कहा है कि इस देश के अंदर जितने लोग रोजगार में हैं अगर आपकी नीति मानी जाये तो एवरी फिफ्थ मैन इन द इंडस्ट्री

विल बी रिट्रेंचंड, वर्कर्स जो वहां काम करते हैं।

"Even on a conservative basis we accept anything like 10 to 15 per cent of the administrative staff and anything like 15 per cent, 25 per cent of the labour force become redundant after retaining the section that can be retained."

आपने इसका क्यों जिक्र नहीं किया कि इस देश में जितने लोग रोजगार में हैं, उसमें से हर पांचवा आदमी, हमने एवरेज ले लिया, वह 15-25 प्रतिशत कहते हैं, हम 20 प्रतिशत कहते हैं। यह अगर हट जाएं, तो हम लोग कहां जायेंगे और क्या होगा आप क्या बैठे रहियेगा यहां ?

यह श्रम बेकार है, हम आपको कह रहे हैं। इस देश को आप इक्कीसवीं शताब्दी में ले जाना चाहते थे, तो प्रतिदिन अभी से अगर पैंतीस हजार नये जाब्स क्रिएट किया जाएगा, तब इस शताब्दी के अंत तक सबको रोजगार मिल सकेगा। तो पैंतीस हजार नया जाब्स क्या क्रिएट होगा, अगर उलटे हर पांचवें आदमी की छटनी होगी, तो हम लोग कहां जायेंगे ?

मंत्री महोदय ने इस गम्भीर समस्या पर विचार नहीं किया है।

एक माननीय सदस्य : हम लोग छटनी नहीं कर रहे हैं।

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र : नहीं करने से उपाय नहीं है। जूट उद्योग क्या ठहर सकता है जो सिंथेटिक का हाल है उसके मुताबिक आपने कोई सोचा नहीं। क्या टाइपिस्ट क्या टाइपिस्ट रहेंगे इलेक्ट्रानिक टाईपराइटर्ज आने के बाद यह प्रगति का लक्षण है, लेकिन इसके लिए देश को तैयार करने की बात आनी चाहिए थी आपको। तो आपने इसका कोई प्रावधान न तो आने वाली योजना में किया, न इसमें किया। हमको मरने के लिए छोड़ दिया आपने कि मर जाइयेगा तुम, तो अच्छी बात है, खुदा भला करेगा। यही आपकी नीति है और आपकी जो आर्थिक नीति है, उसके बारे में मैंने पिछले रोज कहा था कि—

"ऋणम् कृत्वा घृतम् पिबेत,—
नासिक प्रेस जिंदाबाद।

यही आपकी आर्थिक लाईन है। आपको सीधे शब्दों में मैं कहना चाहता हूं।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, अब शासक पार्टी का हाल के वर्षों में नया मक्का हुआ है साऊथ कोरिया और जापान यह शासक पार्टी का मक्का बना है।

मैं एक बात जापान के अखबार से ही कोट करके रख रहा हूं कि उनका क्या हाल हुआ है इस नीति के चलने से—

"Economists predict that economic activities in Japan will become top-heavy sometime from the fall of 1985 through the spring of 1986 causing the growth rate to decline. It should be noted that the U.S. growth rate suffered from a sharp decline in 1985 causing Japan's export to that country to flag."

यह जापान का ही "सोहयो" अखबार है, जिससे मैं उद्धत कर रहा हूं। जिसको आपने समझा था कि नये फरिश्ते ने जन्म लिया है, जो देश के गरीबों का उद्धार करेगा, आप अब साऊथ कोरिया का ही सुन लीजिए। यह भी विदेश का ही अखबार "फ्लैश" है—

"The South Korean Minister of Economic Planning recognised that during the first part of the year, the country had a deficit of 2.7 million dollars in its trade with Japan. This year alone, South Korea will have to pay 8.1 billion dollars in repayments and interests."

तो जिन गुरु लोगों को आपने चुना उनका भी वही हाल है डबल डेफिसिट, अपने विदेश व्यापार में भी डेफिसिट और बजट में भी डेफिसिट। उन्हीं गुरु लोगों के आर्शीर्वाद को इस देश में भी आपने

[श्री चतरानन मिश्र]

दिया है दोनों का यही हाल है। इसलिए मैंने सोचा कि इसकी भी चर्चा कर दूं।

जो रीगन महाराज हैं, वह माथे पर हाथ दे रहे हैं, रीगन इकनामिक्स काम नहीं कर रही है, मिसेज थेचर जो थी आपकी नई नेत्री, वह बेचारी इस बार जो बजट ला रही हैं, प्लान को, वोट को देखते हुए—वह सब भ्रम त्याग दिया लोगों ने। इसलिए आप भी अपना भ्रम त्याग लीजिए, कुछ तो त्यागा है आपने, आप जागरूक हैं। मैंने पहले ही कहा था कि आपने जो ओपन जनरल लाइसेंस कर दिये थे, उसका कितना घातक परिणाम हुआ। उसने हमें काफी घाटा दिया। हमारे कैपिटल गुड्स के उद्योग भी ठप्प पड़ने लगे और उद्योग विभाग ने आपको लिख कर दिया है कि तेरह उद्योगों में इसको रोका जाए। आपने कुछ को रोका है। यह तो आपके सुझाव हैं। अभी तक इसके लक्षण हैं। तो उससे मुझे खुशी ही है क्योंकि अगर उधर मर्ज कर जाइयेगा, तो और सत्यानाश होगा।

इस के संबंध में मैं एक बात की ओर सदन का ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूं। अभी तो आपकी इस नीति का क्या परिणाम हुआ। अभी एक कांनफ्रेंस हो रही है अपने देश में, वर्ल्ड इकनामिक कानफ्रेंस। उसमें उद्‌घाटन करते हुए जो कुछ हमारे देश के विख्यात इकानोमिस्ट श्री वी० के० आर० वी० राव ने कहा है, उस ओर मैं आपको भी ध्यान दिला रहा हूं।

श्री विश्वनाथ प्रताप सिंह : अभी हाल में जो सोवियत रशिया से हमारा इकनामिक एग्रीमेंट हुआ है, उस पर तो आपने एक शब्द कहा ही नहीं।

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र : उस पर तो हम कहने वाले हैं। हम उस पर जरूर कहेंगे, लेकिन आप अपने समय में से पांच मिनट हमको दे दीजिए, तो हम उस पर भी कहेंगे। हम उसके पक्ष में हैं। हम चाहते हैं कि आप कोई ऐसा एग्रीमेंट करें, बल्कि उसमें खामियां हैं, आपको बता दूं। आप उसके क्रेडिट का उपयोग नहीं कर पा रहे है। हम चाहते हैं कि 15-20 वर्ष का कीजिए और स्ट्रक्चरल चेंज कीजिए और यह वर्ल्ड मार्केट से आप यह पूंजीपतियों से, साम्राज्यवादियों से अपना नाता तोड़िए और इधर आइये। अगर सोशलिजम का कुछ है जिसमें कि इस देश के गरीबों का भला हो सके तो इसके बारे में सोचिए। आप तो दूसरी तरफ भाग कर चले गए थे। इस देश का एक रिवाज है, उस गद्दी में क्या है उस सीट पर क्या है वह हम नहीं कह सकते? जो-जो वहां बैठता है वह पहले अमरीका की तरफ देखता है। हमारे नेहरू जी ने भी किया था, इंदिरा जी ने भी किया था, उनके लड़के ने किया। हमको ताज्जुब क्या होगा? लेकिन बाद में जब ठोकर खाते हैं और वह आपके मित्र ऐसे हैं कि रह-रह के पाकिस्तान को कुछ देते हैं तो आप लोग कुछ सुगबुगाने लगते हैं। तब इधर से बात-चीत करने लगते हैं। उस पर समय दीजिएगा तो कभी चर्चा करेंगे। लेकिन अभी आपसे कहना चाहते थे उसका उद्धरण दे रहे हैं:

"But for large population countries like India or China, consumerism of an elitist character can only accentuate, as in the case of India, or create as in the case of China, social tensions and class conflicts that can end up in civil war and destruction of national integrities. This danger is greater for a country like India, which has a parliamentary democracy, adult franchise, periodic elections, multi-parties competing for vote banks through the use of populist rhetoric."

तो यह मैं ने [illegible]

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री एम० पी० कौशिक) : क्लोज वाइंड अप।

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र : आप जरा थोड़ा सा समय दे दें तो चार उद्धरण करके खत्म कर दूंगा?

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री एम० पी० कौशिक) : आप 2-4 मिनट और ले लें।

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र : और आप क्या समझते हैं कि हम दो-चार घंटे लेंगे। एक बात और कहना चाहते थे क्योंकि आप लोग इम्पोर्टेड टैक्नोलोजी की बहुत बात करते हैं। पहली बात तो उसका रेट आपने बढ़ा दिया है जो पहले हाइएस्ट 3 परसेंट रहता था और अभी चार-पांच परसेंट की तरफ चले गए हैं। उसमें हमारा विदेशी मुद्रा में करीब पांच सौ करोड़ से ज्यादा खर्च हुआ। इसके बारे में विख्यात अर्थशास्त्रियों का क्या कहना है :

"Imported technology carries with it, its own unwelcome conditions and gives no chance for its indigenisation and subsequent domestic development. Our balance of payments is getting out of gear. Export-induced investments and operations may themselves induce more inputs, creating a vicious circle of imports chasing exports, even assuming that our export drive, shorn of incentives at the expense of public revenues and domestic requirements, will take off the ground and not fall a victim to the lure of a profitable elitist domestic market."

मैं इसलिए इसकी चर्चा कर रहा था उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय कि आपको शायद एक और सुना दें यह "योजना" भारत सरकार का ही अखबार है, आपको भी मिलता होगा, उसने लिखा है कि एक घंटा जो टी०वी० पर आप कोई चीज दिखलाते हैं और जो खर्चा करते हैं और आप विदेश से भी चीज ले करके खर्च करते हैं उसमें 93 प्राइमरी स्कूल चल सकते हैं। इसमें कौन सी चीज जरूरी है आप बताइये, 93 प्राइमरी स्कूल या टी०वी० पर ऐसी चीजों को घंटा-घंटा भर दिखाना? कौन सी चीज आप जरूरी समझते हैं, ये फाइवस्टार होटल या जो लोग मकान के बिना रह रहे हैं, वे आप क्या चाहते हैं? अभी शायद कुछ माननीय सदस्य नहीं हैं और झा जी भी नहीं है इसलिए हमको कहने में कुछ दिक्कत जरूर हो रही है लेकिन आप उनको कनवे कर देंगे, आप लोग कहते हैं कि उत्पादन बढ़ाओ और कम्पीटीशन होगा तो प्राइज ठीक हो जायेगा। आप बतलाइये गल्ले का उत्पादन तो बहुत बढ़ा 29 मिलियन टन गल्ला आपके पास पड़ा हुआ है तो गल्ले का दाम क्यों बढ़ा है वह हमको बता दीजिए क्योंकि उत्पादन बढ़ने से दाम तो घटना चाहिए था? आपने खुद कहा है कि कपड़े का उत्पादन बढ़ा है। झा जी ने भाषण में कहा कि सीमेंट का बहुत उत्पादन हुआ है, उत्पादकता भी बढ़ी है तो क्या गरीबों के लायक उसका दाम आ सका है? क्या जन साधारण उसका क्रय कर सकता है? तो अगर हम उत्पादन बढ़ाएं और मूल्य वृद्धि होती रहे, रोजगार भी हमको नहीं मिले तो उस उत्पादन बढ़ाने में हमारा क्या इंटरेस्ट है? हम क्यों उसमें जायेंगे? खाली यह कहिए कि यह बढ़ा दीजिए तो यह बात होने वाली नहीं है। इसी सिलसिले में मैं एक बात की और भी चर्चा करना चाहता था। वह यह कि कंपीटीशन से भी सिर्फ नहीं होगा, कपड़ा उद्योग में भारी कंपीटीशन था, आप खुद इस बात को जानते हैं और वह सस्ता नहीं हो सका। इसलिए सरकार को इंटरवीन करना होगा और इसलिए जरूरी है कि पब्लिक सैक्टर की जो इनएफिशिएंसी है उससे आप लड़ना चाहते हैं। उससे आप लड़ना चाहते तो हम पूर्णतया सहयोग करते। लेकिन उससे लड़ने के नाम पर उसी को फेंक देना चाहते हैं उस मां की तरह, जो गंदा पानी स्नान का टब से फेंकने के बजाय बच्चे को ही टब से फेंक देती है। यह जो आपकी नीति है, घातक है। अभी अधिक समय नहीं है, नहीं तो हम साबित कर सकते हैं कि पिछले दिनों आपने ऐसे कई एक काम किये हैं, जिससे हमारी केपिटल गुड्स की इण्डस्ट्री एफेक्टेड हो गयी है। झा साहब को प्रसन्नता हो सकती है कि भारत बनाना इण्डस्ट्री वाला देश नहीं

[श्री चतुरानन मिश्र]

है। यह बात सही है बनाना कन्ट्री नहीं है। लेकिन बनाना का पेड़ है यह मल्टी नेशनल कम्पनी के साथ, अगर वह आयें तो तमाम हमारे आर० एण्ड डी० को बर्बाद कर देंगे। हम अभी उनका मुकाबला नहीं कर सकते और इसलिए मैं अनुरोध करूंगा कि उस नीति पर आप पुनर्विचार कीजिए और इसको बदलिये, तभी हम लोग इसको आगे बढ़ा सकते हैं। इस सिलसिले में दो बात और कहकर समाप्त कर देना चाहूंगा।

महोदय, बड़े पैमाने पर लोग गांवों से शहरों की तरफ भाग रहे हैं। हरेक सेंसस में 10 लाख आदमी गांव से शहरों में भागकर आते हैं। हम देख रहे हैं 8 लाख आदमी हरेक साल किसानों की पांत से घटकर खेत मजदूर की पांत में आ जाते हैं। कहां जायें ये लोग, क्या करें? आप यह समझकर बैठे हैं कि वे चुपचाप बैठेंगे, कुछ नहीं होगा तो यह आपकी गलतफहमी है, वह डिस्टोरशन ले रहा है हमारी सोसायटी के अन्दर। आप इस पर विचार कीजिए। अभी गांधी जी की पवित्र जन्म-भूमि जो गुजरात है, वहां दंगा हो रहा है एण्टी रिजर्वेशन को लेकर। उसके असेन्स में क्या है, इसको आप देखते हैं। वहां हो रहा है हिन्दू-मुस्लिम दंगा। आपने कभी इस पर विचार किया, क्या-क्या वहां घटना घंटी हैं? ... (**समय की घंटी**) महोदय, दो मिनिट और अभी खत्म कर रहा हूं। इस दंगा फसाद के पीछे भी एक बहुत बड़ी बात है आर्थिक नीति की। गुजरात के अन्दर पहले स्क्रेप मेटल का व्यापार मुसलमान करते थे, लेकिन नयी इंजीनियरी आ जाने के कारण यह व्यापार चला गया हिन्दुओं के हाथ में। इसी तरह चीपा मुसलमान पहले कपड़ा पेंटिंग का काम करते थे, जब हिन्दू मारवाड़ी और पटेलों ने इसको ले लिया है। हिन्दू लोग पहले चश्मा-फ्रेम बनाते थे, अब बोहरा-मैमून बनाने लगे हैं, इन्हें गोल्फ कन्ट्री से सहुलियतें प्राप्त हो गयी। पहले मुसलमान हेण्डलूम में थे, अब पावरलूम हिन्दुओं के साथ में चला गया और डेस्ट्रोय हो गया। इस तरह से आज यह चारों तरफ की हालत हो गयी तो आप बताइए कहां ले जाएंगे आप इनको? दंगा-फसाद आज रोजी के लिए हो रहा है। इसकी जड़ में आपको जाना चाहिए और सोचना चाहिए कि क्या हो रहा है, हमारा देश जो भयानक स्थिति से गुजर रहा है, उससे बचाने के लिए हमारी आर्थिक व्यवस्था भी होनी चाहिए, हमारी आर्थिक नीति भी होनी चाहिए ताकि मूल समस्या पर हम चोट कर सकें। मुझे अत्यन्त दुख है कि आपकी प्लानिंग, चाहे प्लान के लिए आपने अच्छा किया कि आपने पहले दे दिया, हम उसके पक्ष में हैं। लेकिन अब उससे उन समस्याओं का निदान नहीं हो सकता है और भारत, जिसको आप इक्कीसवीं शताब्दी में ले जाने की बात कह रहे हैं, वह विश्व का अभी भी सबसे दरिद्र देश है, सबसे ज्यादा अनपढ़ों का देश है, सबसे ज्यादा बेरोजगारों का देश है और यही हालत इक्कीसवीं शताब्दी में भी रहेगी, अगर आप इसी तरह आगे जाएंगे। इसलिए मैं आपको एक बात फिर कहना चाहता हूं कि देश की इस डांवाडोल हालत को देखते हुए अगर यही आर्थिक नीति आप बरकरार रखेंगे। आपकी पार्टी के भी काफी लोग बोल चुके हैं कि आप पब्लिक सेक्टर को छोड़ रहे हैं, काफी चर्चा चल रही है, तमाम देश के लोग कह रहे हैं, तमाम अखबार कह रहे हैं कि आप इसको छोड़ रहे हैं। तो आपकी यह इमेज होगी कि चन्द मुट्ठीभर पूंजीपतियों के लिए आप काम करते हैं और देश में भयानक बवण्डर मचेगा। इसलिए इससे बचाने के लिये हम आपसे अनुरोध करेंगे कि आप इस नीति को छोड़ दीजिए

श्रौर यह जो नया श्रापने बनाया है . . . **(व्यवधान)** . . . . इसको छोड़ दीजिए श्रौर भारत की नीति को, यहां की नीति को निर्धारित करके स्वदेशी की नीति को अख्तियार करके ऐसी नीति का श्रवलम्बन कीजिए, पब्लिक सेक्टर को एफीसियेण्ट श्रविलम्ब बनाइए, हम सहयोग करेंगे, सहयोग करने के लिए हम तैयार हैं। लेकिन तमाम जनता को ठोकर मार कर इस काम को मत कीजिए, इसके लिए हमारा सहयोग नहीं होगा।

इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ मैं श्रापसे फिर एक बार श्रनुरोध करूंगा कि श्राप इस नीति में परिवर्तन लाइये।

2.00 P.M. मुझे श्राधा मिनट श्रौर दें। लोग कहते हैं कि हमारे कन्ट्री के श्रन्दर स्टील बहुत कास्टली उत्पादन हो रहा है। भेल के जो श्रध्यक्ष हैं उनकी रिपोर्ट से मैं कोट कर रहा हूं। अगर टैक्स सारा हटा दें तो विभिन्न देशों में क्या दाम है वह सुन लीजिए—श्रमरीका में 7576 रुपये है, भारत में 5000 है, जापान में 5138 है, वेस्ट जर्मनी में 5052 है, इंगलैण्ड में 5188 है। सिर्फ फ्रांस में कम है। श्राप टैक्स लगा दें तो हम जिम्मेवार है। हम चीपेस्ट स्टील पैदा करते हैं, फ्रांस को छोड़ कर। उलटे श्राप मजदूरों को गाली देते हैं।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. KAUSHIK): Now, Mr. Jadhav.

SHRI VITHALRAO MADHAVRAO JADHAV (Maharashtra): Thank you very much, Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, for giving me this opportunity to speak on the economic situation in the country.

Sir, I would like to start with the famous sentence of Mahatma Gandhi:

> "Let us work for an India in which the poorest feel that it is their country in whose making they have an effective voice. We should all be Indians first, last and always."

From this point of view, Sir, I would like to present my views on the economic situation taking into account the statement on projections of resources which has been presented by our able Finance Minister. I actually welcome this statement and the dynamism which has been shown by our outstanding Finance Minister.

Sir, yesterday, he made a statement on the projections of resources in which he has said:

> "On the basis of present trends, the Central share of taxes in 1987-88 is projected at Rs. 25,250 crores. Together with estimated receipts under various heads such as non-tax revenue, external assistance, market borowings, small savings and other capital receipts, the total receipts of the Centre are projected at Rs. 55,150 crores. For purpose of estimation, we have assumed a level of deficit financing of Rs. 5.000 crores. Thus, the total receipts are placed at Rs. 60,150 crores."

I would like to say here that the deficit financing of Rs. 5,000 crores is much lower than the last year's deficit which was estimated in the last year's Budget. In respect of these observations, I would like to mention one thing to the Finance Minister. In the statement, Sir, it has been mentioned that there are likely to be substantial increases in interest payments and defence which are projected to increase to Rs. 10,150 crores and Rs. 11,900 crores respectively. In the table also it has been shown that non-Plan expenditure is due to major subsidies, particularly on fertilizers, and the table shows that in 1985-86, they were Rs. 4,305 crores, in 1986-87-Rs. 4,255 crores, and, in 1987-88-Rs. 4,680 crores. I know and this House is also aware that the major subsidies are on fertilizers which come to about Rs. 1,700 crores. I would like to tell the Government and our honourable Minister of Finance in this context that our farmers are not in need of subsidies which you are giving for fertilizers. I as a representative of the farmers—I am myself a farmer—would say that they do not went subsidies on fertilizers and they are prepared to purchase one bag of urea at the price fixed which include the subsidy. That is not what the farmers want. You just give them remunerative prices for their produce or for the commodities which they produce. That is what their demand is. You try to calculate how much of nitrogen is required, how much of phosphate is required, to produce one

[Shri Vithalrao Madhavrao Jadhav]

quintal of foodgrains, and include this cost in this and you will see that it does not come to much. What I say is that the benefit of the subsidy is not going to the farmer Secondly, major exploitation of the farmers is taking place. I would like to give just one example. The purchase price of wheat is Rs. 162|- per quintal and the sale price of wheat through the fair price shops is Rs. 220/- per quintal. I do not understand where the difference of Rs. 58 goes? Where does it go? It goes either for transportation or for the salaries of FCI officers or into the pockets of the middlemen. Therefore, I would request the Government to look into this aspect of the matter also. And even for wheat or any other farm produce purchased by the Government, the cost of maintenance, Rs. 58 or whatever it might be, should be reduced. Your marketing charges and supervision charges should not go beyond 10 per cent. If you purchase only at the cost of Rs. 62, if you like to sell at the cost of Rs. 220 per quintal through the fair price shops, then give the farmers Rs. 200. The farmers also will feel happy, and remove subsidy for fertilizers. We are not worried about that. Likewise, in all agricultural commodities, take the example of sugarcane, take the example of oilseeds. As my friend Shri Jagesh Desai has raised a very pertinent point in this House about oilseeds, give more price to the farmers. Actually at the time of harvest, groundnut or sunflower is purchased at the cost of Rs. 300 or Rs. 400 per quintal. Three quintals of groundnut can make one quintal of oil and that one quintal of oil costs Rs. 2000 per quintal. The farmer gets only Rs. 10-12 per kg., and Rs. 8 per kg. goes to the middleman. The main enemy is the middleman. I would, therefore, request the Finance Minister that this middleman's agency from agriculture should be totally abolished. For centuries together, for generations together, these middlemen are taking all the butter, all this cream, while the poor man who is producing is himself worried and the poor man who is the consumer is also worried. So the gap between the consumer and producer is very large. and that gap is eaten entirely by the middleman's agency. The Finance Minister is not here, but my friend Shri Janardhan Poojari is here, He is a very dynamic Minister and he has given a very good administration in banks so that the banks can go to the poor people of this country, either through his loan 'melas' or loans to agriculturists.

In the year 1985-86 our total receipts were Rs. 50,50,7 crores. In 1986-87 the total receipts were Rs. 52,362 crores and during 1987-88, it is estimated, our total receipts will be Rs. 60150 crores. I can say, Sir, that right from 1980, since our Government came into power, our receipts have been constantly increasing. The ex-Finance Minister, Mr. Pranab Mukherjee, is also sitting here. It is our success, the success of the Congress Party. And here in this Finance Minister's estimate, it is very clear that within two years, period our receipts have gone up to Rs. 10,000 crores. But then the subsidies or non-plan expenditure are also not less. Non-Plan expenditure has also gone up from Rs. 28,000 crores to Rs. 39,000 crores. So here I would request the Finance Minister to see that the non-plan expenditure is reduced, considerably reduced, because it is non-plan and wasteful expenditure. My friend, Mr. D. P. Yadav, in the Lok Sabha has also made certain observations about the working of Government servants. It has been seen the Government servants... (*Time bell rings*).

Sir, it is yet 7 minutes. You have given 25 minutes to others.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. KAUSHIK): Your time is over.

SHRI VITHALRAO MADHAVRAO JADHAV: How is it possible, Sir?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. KAUSHIK): This is the watch. It is not between you and me.

SHRI VITHALRAO MADHAVRAO JADHAV: You must give me the same treatment as has been given to other party members.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. KAUSHIK): Your party has a greater number of people to speak. Time is to be divided.

SHRI VITHALRAO MADHAVRAO JADHAV: That is all right. But has it started from me only?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. KAUSHIK): Don't waste time.

SHRI VITHALRAO MADHAVRAO JADHAV: If you don t want me to speak, I will not speak.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. KAUSHIK): Please wind up.

AN HON. MEMBER: Don't argue.

SHRI VITHALRAO MADHAVRAO JADHAV: So from that point of view, Sir, I would like to make certain observations on the Indian economy. The Indian economy seems to have settled down into a growth pattern that is steady but sluggish. In coming years there would be an increased dependence on imports and a re-emergence of increased inflation rate. Even if the economy grows at the average annual rate of 5 per cent in the Seventh Plan, demand-supply gap for a number of mass consumption goods would have widened by 1989-90. And all this when the disposal income of the people would rise continuously. It would be a classic case of too much money chasing too few goods and hence the resultant inflation. These are the observations of one of the outstanding economist. According to the author, it is, therefore essential that instead of emphasising on five per cent growth of GNP, attention should be devoted to spending up production in industry as well as in agriculture.

Agricultural and industrial output constitute 60 per cent of the GDP. After having risen to 1.5 and 6.3 per cent respectively, in 1985-86, it is expected to grow at slightly lower rates of 1 per cent and 6 per cent respectively in 1986-87. and industry, the economy contributed 5 In spite of sluggish growth in agriculture per cent growth in GDP. That is mainly because of the tertiary sector being at 6.5 to 7.0 per cent. The same pattern will continue in 1986-87. Thus it is the service sector coming to the rescue of sluggish economy. I will come to agriculture.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. KAUSHIK): Please be precise.

SHRI VITHALRAO MADHAVRAO JADHAV: This year, the total production of foodgrains will be 151 million tonnes. The people from that side have criticised that the production has come down this year. I actually congratulate our Government that they have created such an infra-structure that in spite of drought and different climatic zones, our agricultural production has not gone down. If the monsoon had been favourable, we would have achieved the target of 160 million tonnes which was set up formerly. I will be very precise. I would like to suggest something. In 1980-81, the national GNP was 7.5 per cent and the foodgrain output was 129.6 million tonnes. In 1981-82, the GNP was 5.3 per cent and the foodgrain output was 133.3 million tonnes. In 1982-83, the GNP was 2.6 per cent and the foodgrains output was 129.5 million tonnes. In 1983-84, the GNP was 7.7 per cent and the foodgrains production was 152.4 million tonnes. In 1984-85, the GNP was 3.7 per cent and the foorgrains output was 146.2 million tonnes. As the agricultural production increased, the GNP also increased. That is the data which is available. This year, the agricultural production has come down and the national GNP has also come down to 5 per cent. Now, our main thrust should be on agriculture.

Industrial production has shown good response. Unless the agricultural production increases, the industrial production will not increase. It is because the purchasing capacity of the common man who is living in the villages and the rural areas is very low. If they do not have the money, they are unable to buy the goods which are manufactured by the industries. From that point of view, I would like to request the hon. Finance Minister that we have to do our major spending on the development of agriculture. Here, I would like to make a pertinent point. In our neighbouring country, China, they have got 32 million hectares of land under foodgrain cultivation and they are producing 400 million tonnes of foodgrains. We are having 62 million hectares of land under foodgrain cultivation and we are

[Shri Vithalrao Madhavrao Jadhav]

producing 151 millicn tonnes of food-grains. It is because till today we have spent only 41,000 crores on irrigation. We have to tackle our irrigation resources and bring 121 million hectares under cultivation. Through you, I request the Finance Minister and the Planning Commission to complete the irrigation projects as early as possible and give a boost to the agricultural production. If we come on a par with China by bringing our agricultural production to 400 million tonnes all our problems will be solved. Our per acre yield is less. It we come to the level of China in our per acre production of foodgrains and other crops, we can reach the target of 400 million tonnes of foodgrains and from that we can get foreign exchange worth 20 000 crores of rupees. That is the estimate of one of the economists. So, that is the estimate of one of the scientists.

Sir, when I spoke a lot about the nation, I would like to conclude my speech with one poem of Rabindranath Tagore... (*Interruptions*) The poem is like this:

"Where the mind is without fear and the head is held high,

Where the knowledge is free,

Where the world has not been broken up into fragments by narrow domestic walls.

Where the words come out from the depth of truth,

Where tireless striving stretches its arms towards perfection,

Where the clear stream of reason has not lost its way into the dreary desert sand of dead habit,

Where the mind is led forward by these into everwidening thought and action

Into that heaven of freedom, my Father, let my country awake."

With these words, Sir, I conclude,

SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE (West Bengal): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I was going through the statement of the Finance Minister, and I agree with him when he says that the two major areas of concern are the balance of payment and the rapid growth of Government expenditure. But I would like to add one more area of concern to these and that is the area of prices. But, unfortunately, it seems to me that the Finance Minister has not made proper justice to the points or rather to the areas of concern because in a statement of nine page, he has devoted only three pages to these, and that too he has given certain sketchy descriptions on how to tackle these two major areas of concern--balance of payment and rapid growth of non-Plan expenditure. In the rest of the areas, Sir, he has tried to create an impression that everything is going all right, and in the fashion of the days most of the time superlative languages have been used--unprecedented record, never happened in the past, and things like that. But if I most respectfully submit through you, Sir, to him where he has stated about the performance of infrastructure in the areas like electricity generation, coal production and crude production--he has given some figures-practically these are of the same order in the last five or six years. Nothing spectacular has happened. For instance, the annual average growth in the case of electricity generation, in the entire Sixth Plan period, was 8.3 per cent. Coal production was about seven and odd per cent, Crude production was about 33 per cent. And even though the plant load factory is the highest record in the last seven years at 51-odd per cent, we could not reach the level of plant load factor of 1976 when it was 56 per cent. Secondly, Sir, some times the growth in terms of percentage depicts a misleading picture. For instance if you look at the allocation for NREP in the two years 1984-85 and 1985-86, hardly there had been an increase. In absolute terms, it was Rs. 230 crores. Therefore, from Rs. 230 crores, in one year if you increase, naturally you will have a very big jump, and you will have a statistical advantage of that. But that statistical advantage does ont lead us to a real situation. My humble suggestion is that we shall have to take note of certain areas where the situation is really difficult. On two points I have agreed with him. On the third point, I do not agree with him

which is also an area of concern, and that is the area of prices. Well the Finance Minister may have his satisfaction with the statistics because the wholesale price index on 1st November has not registered more than 6.4 per cent increase but what is disturbing is that on 13th September, it was 6.3 per cent. In other words, when there should have been a seasonal decline which normally starts from September, September 13 to November, there has been a point one per cent upward trend instead of any downward trend. Of course, there has been variation two weeks preceding that November 1st figure and there was some decline. But to my mind, he is not going to have the advantage of seasonal declining trend which normally happens in normal years. Apart from that there is no room of complicency in the price front. Here Sir, I would like to quote from the Budget Speech of one of the Finance Minister's who patted himself for creating almost a world record in the area of price stabilisation and I am quoting: "Price stability which this Government achieved last year has continued through the current year as well. The wholesale price index on 10th February, 1979, was only 0.9 per cent above the level of last year and 0,4 per cent above the level two years earlier. Such a record of price stability in a period in which national income growth was 11 per cent would be difficult to find elsewhere in the world." Paragraph 7 of Part 'A' of the Finance Minister's Speech in 1979. And, he was actually correct. In the preceding 23 months, the wholesale price index rose by only 1.3 per cent. But unfortunately when the Finance Minister was patting himself of making a world record, he did not realise that within his tenure, in the next ten months, the wholesale price index would shoot up to 21.4 per cent. That means in the preceding 20 months before his tenure whole sale price index sore by 1.3 per cent and 10 months of his tenure rise was 21.4 per cent. Why did it happen? Can we say merely, because of the drought of that particular year this happened? No, Sir, worst type of drought happened in 1982-83 and the wholesale price index did not go beyond 8.9 per cent can we say this happened merely because of the fact that Rs. 600 crores additional taxation were imposed. To my mind, that is also a very marginal thing. To my mind, and this is the relevance where the Finance Minister should be a little more careful about it, the reason is the deficit. You will recollect, Sir, that in the first budget of the Janata Party government in 1977-78, shown deficit was Rs. 84 crores but unfortunately it went up to Rs. 984 crores in the revised estimate stage. The shown deficit of 1978-79 was Rs. 1,071 crores, but in the revised estimates it went up to Rs. 1,590 crores. Shown deficit in 1979-80 was Rs. 1,380 crores and in the revised estimates it went up to Rs. 2,700 crores. Now, if you add these revised estimate figures, you will find that more than Rs. 5000/- crores of deficit were injected into the economic system which practically broke the barrier which contained the inflation. My apprehension here is that though the Finance Minister assured in his budget speech that with the stock of money available to the system, Rs. 4,095 crores, deficit as revised estimates of 1985-86 and 1986-87, Rs. 3,660 crores deficit would be absorbed in the system. I am afraid it is not going to be so and these are found to exert inflationary pressures. I am not going to add the supplementary demands totalling Rs. 7,500 crores because actually he has adequate elbow room so far as revenue realisation is concerned, I have no hesitation to congratulate him for achieving a wonderful performance so far as revenue realisation is concerned. And I am frankly admitting, Sir, that when I made my observations on the Budget, I had little doubt whether the same level of revenue buoyancy would continue in the successive years but it has happened. But as it appears from the figures in his statement, in the first six months it is 19 per cent and 24 per cent. Therefore, I presume that some buoyancy will continue. But the fact remains that the impact of this type of high-powered money is going to exert inflationary pressure, and prices are likely to shoot up. My apprehension is --and he has himself mentioned in his statement that deliberately because of solving another problem in the area of balance of payment he has reduced imports and to that extent the leverage to demand and

[Shri Pranab Mukherjee]

supply management strategy will be limited. Whatever price mechanism you have within a year or two, you are not going to solve the problem of edible oils, and it is getting reflected in the consumer price index. The curves are not moving parallel for some time though there is a time lag and there should be 4 to 5 months difference between these two. Unfortunately, from 1984 end, these two curves are not moving parallel and have shown erratic behaviour. Foreign exchange will not be available to you to import goods and services to strengthen your supply management strategy to the extent to which it was available in 1985. On the other hand injection of so much high-powered money in the system is bound to create problems. This is my apprehension, and here I would suggest to him, through you, as he has mentioned that the job of the Finance Minister is not merely to present the current picture or solution of the problem, but anticipate it; and he should have anticipated this. After all, defence expenditure, and geo-political situation have not developed to this stage suddenly. Recommendations of Pay Commission were hanging like a Damocles Sword, and, in fact, I am the villain of the piece, as I set up the Pay Commission. Anyway, everybody knew that they are going to make recommendations and the recommendations will create problem for the Finance Minister and he will have to give money. So, these are the issues which are already known and these were waiting on the wings. Therefore, keeping that in view, coming to this area, how is he going to control it? He has given some figures about the non-plan and non-developmental expenditure. He has taken certain steps to reduce it or he is going to do that. But where is the leverage? If you look at the plan document, on three major items on non-developmental side, it projected subsidies at 18,141 crores; defence it is Rs. 45,000 crores; interest payment-Rs. 46,222 crores, to be spent on the non-plan side over a period of five years as envisaged in the document, at the price level of 1984-85. What has been the actual picture? So far as subsides are concerned, I find that it has almost reached a staggering figure, though in the document that he circulated yesterday, he gave only major subsidies. But I have the figures of both major and minor subsidies. Revised estimate in 1985-86 gave the figure at Rs. 4921 crores; in 1986-87 at B.E. it is Rs. 4741 crores. I have not taken into account what appeared in the two supplementary demands, and the third batch of the supplementary demand he will present some time in March though he mentioned in his statement that he would not like to place supplementary demands more frequently; but it seems to me that it is inevitable. So, Rs. 9662 crores are spent on subsides in the first two years; more than 50 per cent, and that too, not at 1984—86 price basis; you will have to give some allowance to price rise taking place during this period. So far as defence is concerned if I tage the revised estimate of 1985-86 and budget estimate of 1986-87 excluding what has been given in supplementary grants and what he projected in the document he submitted yesterday of Rs. 11900 crores, then it comes to Rs. 28,490 crores, and that too at the existing price, not at the price of 1984-85. Therefore, in these two major areas, you are spending more than 50 per cent in the first two years itself. Therefore, what is the area where you are going to control? What is the area, what is the elbow-room you are left with on the non-developental expenditure side? It is true he has funded central plan adequately in the last two years. Here again, the Finance Minister deserves kudos from all of us. In the first two years, he has been able to fund the Central plan to the extent of 40 per cent. If everything goes al lright, perhaps, in the next three years, I think, Central plan will be protected to the extent of 61 per cent, at the price level of 1984-85. But after all plan does not mean only Central plan. Out of Rs. 180,000 crores to be spent during the Seventh Plan, 85,000 odd crores would be in the Central sector and Rs. 85,000 odd crores would be in the State Sector. What the situation there? This is the reality what happened in the 6th Plan. Not in real terms, but in nominal terms. we spent about Rs. 110,000 crores during the Sixth Plan. In the Central sector, we spent about

Rs. 60,000 crores, but all States and Union Territories taken together, we could not spend more than Rs. 50,000 crores. To that extent, Plan was eroded. The Plan was eroded because we could not reach the target at the 1979-80 price level, and so achievement was not hundred per cent. There was serious distortion when all the States were taken together. Therefore, my anxiety is that if the non-developmental expenditure cannot be controlled, in the fourth year we shall have to face serious problems, so far as funding the Plan is concerned in a non-inflationary way. This is what I am afraid of when I see the way Government is going on spending, almost of a spending spree.

Then, Sir, I would like to make a minor point here. We read sometimes in the newspapers. Announcements are made about providing so much assistance for Plan, non-plan projects. It is not just Rs. 5 or Rs. 10 crores. Sometimes, they run into hundreds of crores. If resources are available, it should be properly planned. If resources are located not at the beginning but sometimes during the year, even then it can be fitted into the planning process. So many projects are under-funded. Adequate resources should be made available to these projects. But it you make ad-hoc announcements, it only leads to destabilisation of the institutional arrangement of planning. So long we have been doing like this that at the beginning of the year, the Finance Minister gives an indication to the Planning Commission and to all concerned that this is the extent of resources available to him for the coming year. On the basis of that, resources are distributed, discussions take place with the State Governments, with his colleagues in other Ministries. But now a days we find that during the year thousands of crores are being allocated for certain projects and new projects are being approved. Why it is not being done earlier? It is not eroding the process of planning by this type of casual and ad-hoc approach? This is also a point to be taken note of.

The second important area is the balance of payments position. Here too, I am a little afraid. Of course, the Finance Minister intervened when Mr. Vajpayee was speaking to point out that the import growth rate is 1.5 per cent or in the first six months of the current year. I am not aware of the first six months figure because I do not have them. I have the first three months figure. It is 1.5 per cent all right, but this statistical satisfaction will not help you in reality. Slow growth rate in import is not adequate. Exports must increase. We shall have to keep in mind that in 1985-86, there was a negative growth in exports to the extent of 4 and odd per cent. In absolute terms, if I remember correctly, it was 11,000 odd crores. This is the provisional figure. In the first three months, April-May-June, exports have been Rs. 2,790 crores. I have made a ready and rough calculation that at this level, this year, we are not going to reach more than Rs. 11,000 odd crores in absolute terms so far exports are concerned. In statistical terms you may have a reasonable satisfaction because last year it was a minus figure and as compared to that you will have 24 per cent growth in export, but in absolute terms it is not so even it may not cross the level of 84. In the first quarter it is Rs. 2790 crores. Of course, it does not go on arithmetically, similarly import also does not go on at the same level. Therefore, some more serious measures ought to be taken in regard to exports. Then, you have said that fertilizer production has increased. It is good, but, at the same time, it will create headache in the coming years because subsidies for domestic production of fertilizer would also increase. Of course, you save foreign exchange and your import bill comes down but domestic subsidy goes up. We shall have to keep in mind the situation when we had this type of trend in international trade. Now you are getting the oil at almost a throw-away price. At what price did we purchase petrol in 1981-82, 1982-83 and 1983-84? It was at 22, 23 and 24 dollars per barrel. In 1985 you have got it at less than 12 to 15 dollars per barrel and this situation may continue for one and a half year, or so.

There was a time when nearly 65 per cent of our foreign exchange was spent

[Shri Pranab Mukherjee]

on importing 3 f's, food, fertilizer and fuel. Those days are gone but import bill of petrol constitutes an important segment of our foreign trade. You are getting oil at a reasonably low price as compared to the previous years. Despite that, the trade gap is increasing. The situation may not remain that comfortable for all the time to come and nobody is going to believe that over a period of two, three or four years oil will be sold at 10 dollars per barrel. So, the situation would be more difficult in future.

Now, he has made a mention about certain thing in his statement regarding promotion of export but they are all routine matters, as to what we are going to do in the field of income-tax relief, this and that. But what is lacking is in vigorous export efforts serious international situation. Here I would like him to explain in a little detail, about the stand we took on the first day in the ministerial meeting of GATT. All along, we have been insisting that services should not be included in the discussions of GATT, that services must be taken out of the GATT agenda. If I remember correctly, in his speech in one of the interim committee meetings of the Fund Bank, the Finance Minister took very tough position and it was in conformity with India's position that we are against having any meeting at the ministerial level before the pending issues of the Tokyo round of discussions are implemented. Now it appears that services are going to be included, to be part of the GATT system. Not only that, it has been discussed already in the last meeting held at the ministerial level and it is going to be a part of the GATT discussions. We would like to know why we had to accept that position.

International trade situation is not at all going to be favourable to us in the foreseeable future. In view of that what type of export strategy do we have? After all, in the traditional items also we are facing problems. Directly or indirectly, they are putting obstructions. We are having problems even in areas where we have relative competitiveness, where we are in a somewhat better position. Even if we wish, we cannot expand our export as rapidly as the situation would demand. So, ultimately, the only alternative left would be to reduce imports drastically. Imports substitution is not a new thing to us. Imports substitution is one of the important policies and there was no reason to believe that this country could afford to have liberalised import policy in forseeable future. We shall have to be restrictive and in what form, in what way we can do so the Finance Minister is the best judge to decide. But the fact remains that we cannot allow our market to be dumped by the goods of other countries. The only alternative left, to my mind, is to go in for a restrictive import regime. What would be of the cosmetics, how he would be able to fit it in, he would be the best judge, To my mind it would not be very easy for us to have a quantum jump in exports. He would have to see whether we can explore the possibility of export in more traditional items- in food he can explore the possibility. He can examine it. Some countries in the world are going to have shortage of foodgrains for quite some time. Whether we can lay more emphasis on export of agricultural products, whether we can identify the areas and earmark the agricultural products for export purposes alone, can this country afford to have the concept of exportable surplus? That is, we will meet our own requirements and whatever surplus will be left will be exported—is it possible? Or we can have the alternative approach—that we must produce and ear-mark a part of our production for exports, if we want to overcome this situation.

Debt servicing is going to be a really serious problem. I do not know what prompted him to go in for borrowing such paltry sums from the ADB. What about the position this Government took if ADB does not give any substantial amount we are not going to borrow. After all, we have every right to borrow from the Asian Development Bank and the position we took at that time was that we must get substantial amounts so that we can fund a big project of our country; it was not that that we should pick up

peanuts like 150, 170 or 120 million dollars. After all we could afford to forego 1100 million dollars in July 1984. So to me it is not quite explicable what prompted him and what was the urgency in having that small amount of money. Obviously the problem of debt is going to be a serious problem and our debt servicing ratio is going to cross 20 per cent we shall have to keep in mind the geo-political situation would compel you to purchase more hardware, particularly in one important segment you yourself have noticed what qualitative changes have taken place in purchases in that particular area from your rupee payment area to hard currency area. That is almost inevitable and nobody would be able to resist that type of pressure. So unless we reduce our imports drastically, it would be a critical situation—I won't say this country will be forced to go in for another devaluation, I do not apprehend that because this country has resilience. But the situation will no doubt be embarrassing. After using the elasticity available to you and with the advantage which you are getting by periodical adjustment in the basket of currencies, you will have some manoeuvrability for some time to come, but if it goes beyond a point, Mr. Finance Minister, you yourself are aware that the situation would be worse.

In conclusion, I would only request him just to give a serious thought how to protect the Plan—and not merely the Plan at the Central sector but also the State sector plan taken together. It is no use saying that the states will take care of themselves. After all irrigation is not being done by the Central sector in a major way; even the IRDP, NREP, RLEG programmes are having substantial provisions from the State sector. Therefore protection of the Plan does not mean protection of the Central Plan; protection of the Plan means protection of the Plan in its entirety, including States and how to protect it in real terms is the question. You have done well for two years. You deserve congratulations for that. Still three years are left and if the second batch of Supplementary Demands is any indication of future and if these are to be repeated, Mr. Vice-Chairman, I can only make an extra prayer for him to God Let God save the Finance Minister. Thank you.

SHRI SATYA PRAKASH MALAVIYA (Uttar Pradesh): After all Finance Minister himself is "Vishwanath."

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: I wish prayers could be expressed in statistical terms; I would have put them in my budget.

SHRI DARBARA SINGH (Punjab): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I think the Finance Minister is quite safe and sound in his health and will lead the Finance Ministry well. Sir, I am only pointing out certain things.

Sir, the economic situation of the country has, on the whole, improved, because it needs to be seen in totality. But it does not mean that we are not facing a difficult situation. There are problems and they need to be solved on the basis of the situation as it exists in the country.

It is indeed gratifying to note that in the first two years of the Seventh Plan we have been able to finance over 40 per cent of the Central Plan. This, indeed, is a significant development. We have created a new climate for industrial development through a series of measures. The main direction of the new economic policy is to promote and encourage medium and small—scale industries. In a vast country like India it is very important that the industrial base of the country should be expanded. This is what we are trying to achieve. The third most important aspect of the new economic policy is to take concrete steps for equitable distribution of the national wealth. This is the main object of the new 20-point programme.

Sir, this too we understood, that the infrastructure of our industry has begun to increase rapidly and, along with that, new avenues are opening for industrial development. To quote one example, in

[Shri Darbara Singh]

the power sector, this year the plant load factor was 51.5 per cent in the case of thermal plants, highest in several years. May I also bring to his notice that still it needs more attention? The present load factor can be increased further if the plants are run well and efficiently by the management of the thermal and other plants. In Maharashtra, the percentage of generation capacity is 80. Then why can't it be so in other parts of the country where thermal and hydro plants are there? Their percentage also can be increased. Of course, there are some deficiencies in the States where they do not look after them properly, efficiently and with knowledge. They can save money, and if the financial position of the State Governments improves, their growth rate also will improve because of increased power generation.

Therefore, Sir, if one has to sum up the economic situation, one should bear in mind the three aspects—strengthening of the public sector, promotion of the medium and small-scale industries and implementation of the anti-poverty programmes for equitable distribution of national wealth. There is problem with growth and that explains why the growth rate of only 5 per cent has been achieved.

This direction of the economic policies naturally evokes resistance in certain quarters. All said and done, Indian big business is not very happy with the policy because our Finance Minister, for the first time, has taken steps to unearth incomes. That possibly is the reason why a section of the press controlled by big business has launched a campaign against these policies. What is to be understood is, the important point that has to be noticed is that our agricultural production too has been increasing. The stock of foodgrains on the 1s July, 1986 was 28 million tonnes. May I also bring to his notice that the FCI and the State Governments purchase wheat and rice. Wheat especially after purchase is kept in stores for a longer time than it is needed. It should be lifted immediately to the places where it is needed. What happens is that about 10 percent of the wheat which is put in stores or kept naked without any cover on it is destroyed. And about 10 per cent of the total is wasted because of the neglect of the persons who are incharge of that. They do not take proper care to send it to the places where it is needed.

Nevertheless, the task which needs our serious consideration is the slow pace of land reforms. I do not want to go into the details in this respect. I do not also want to give figures to show that in some of the non-Congress ruled States the land reforms have not been implemented. I am also conscious of the fact that in the States like Bihar and the eastern area of U.P. this problem is very serious and acute. The point I want to make is that all those forces which are interested in making India economically self-reliant, have to understand that the implementation of the land reforms has become the most important task facing us in terms of policies and economics. The importance of this has to be seen that in areas where land reforms have not been implemented, forces of communalism, regionalism and even secessionism have raised their ugly heads. I am making this point because the whole country is worried about the recent development in Punjab as well. But should we also not examine the socio-economic base of the extremists in Punjab? From my personal experience, I can tell you that the neo-rich class in the rural areas is the most active force behind the extremists; big landlords of Punjab with big farms are in the forefront. I do not want to mention names because this may rouse passions. But let us examine the socio-economic base of those who are supporting extremism.

The other day I was reading a paper by a scholar of the Gurunanak University, Amritsar. He has made an analysis of the existing members of the Shiromani Gurudwara Prabhandak Committee. He has given evidence to prove that more than 75 per cent of the existing Shiromani Gurudwara Prabhandak Committee members belong to the neo-rich class in the rural areas. You may agree with these facts or you may not. But this

aspect needs to be gone into. Without doing so, you will not be able to understand the nature of communalism in India. To my mind, when India has reached the take-off stage of its economic development, certain new forces have come on the surface. When the policies of Pt. Nehru and Indira Gandhi and Mr. Rajiv Gandih are bringing about a new united India, united economic antity, both in economic and political fields, a new offensive has begun. The economic situation has to be seen in that context.

May I say, some other points? About the Pay Commission, the financial burden is because of the implementation of the Pay Commission Report. The State Governments are also asked by their employees that they should also be paid at the Central level. It is because the non-plan expenditure is much more loaded with all this. There are various unforeseen expenditures involved as, for example, the expenditure in meeting unnatural calamities like floods and droughts. This type of expenditure is needed to meet short term measures as well as long term measures to control floods, droughts and other natural calamities. We should find out from the States what strategies are to be adopted to control floods and droughts and then adopt some long-term strategies.

We know there has been a continuous rise in prices, but the main factor of it is rapid increase in population which is growing faster than our agricultural and industrial production. So, we have to take recourse to certain incentives and disincentives as other countries like China are having.

There has been a continuous import of technology in spite of the fact that our scientists are much better than the scientists of other countries. We should take their help and see that we develop indigenous technologies and adopt them so that we need not have to spend more on import in a big way.

Anti-poverty programme is a very good idea, but there is a need for its monitoring to ensure that money given for programmes like NREP or IRDP is utilised for that purpose only and not diverted to their own party purposes.

Transfer of rural resources is a great task to be looked into. We all know that the banks in the rural areas are not helping the poor people. So my suggestion is that a pass-book should be given to every land-holder wherein should be indicated his entire property in the whole of India. And according to the laid down policy of the Government he should be allowed to retain the permissible amount, which, of course, should be within his choice, and the rest of it should be distributed among the landless cultivators. How far it is possible and what steps are to be taken and how it is to be done is the main point. I know it is a difficult task, but unless you do it you cannot bring down the people who are using their property and strength against the interest of the nation, against

3.00 P.M. the nation for their own purposes for getting power. These banks which issue loans to the poor people, take away one-third of the loan money for their coming and going and the rest they pay to the needy person after a very difficult exercise. This also should be taken note of.

The main difficulty is that there must be parity between industry and agriculture. This is the demand of the rural people. The goods which they purchase is at a higher cost than the remunerative price given to them for their crops which they grow. Therefore, while finalising all these things this part also should be kept in mind so that there is not much difference between the price of the produce of the farmer and the industrial goods which he has to purchase from the market. Anyway this is a big problem which has to be looked into by the Government itself.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I appreciate the Finance Minister for the manner in which the blackmoney is being unearthed and the raids are conducted. For these raids they are attacking the Finance Minister many a times. But I congratulate him for his record collection of taxes and

[Shri Darbara Singh]

has asked the people who are having blackmoney to take it out on the surface and pay the income tax which they have to pay to the country. These raids have brought forth one idea that the Prime Minister or the Government are giving a chance to those who come out and pay their dues which may be used for the removal of the poverty either in the villages or in the cities.

With these few remarks, I endorse the motion moved by the Finance Minister. The manner in which he is doing his job with great difficulties, we must appreciate him. Thank you.

श्री वीरेन्द्र वर्मा (उत्तर प्रदेश) : माननीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, माननीय वित्त मंत्री जी ने कल जो देश की सामान्य आर्थिक स्थिति पर अपना वक्तव्य दिया उसको पढ़ने, और सुनने से यह तो मैं स्वीकार करता हूं कि 6 योजनाओं के कंप्लीट हो जाने पर देश का आर्थिक विकास हुआ है लेकिन माननीय वित्त मंत्री जी स्वीकार करेंगे कि हिन्दुस्तान गांवो का देश है। 1981 की जनसंख्या के आधार पर 76 प्रतिशत व्यक्ति इस देश के गावो में रहते हैं।

[उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री जी० स्वामीनाथन) पीठासीन हुए]

गांवो में रहने वाले लोगों की आय सरकारी आंकड़ों के अनुसार दो पंचवर्षीय योजनाओं के पूर्ण हो जाने के बाद और आज कितना अंतर उन में बढ़ा है, इस बात को मैं माननीय वित्त मंत्री जी के सामने रखना चाहता हूं। राष्ट्र पिता महात्मा गांधी गांवों में रहने वाले अनपढ़ निर्बल और उपेक्षित समाज का विकास और उद्धार कर उनकी आर्थिक अवस्था में सुधार कर देश का विकास करना चाहते थे। गांवों को स्वावलंबी बनाना चाहते थे। लेकिन वित्त मंत्री जी को शायद जानकारी हो कि गांवों के जितने दस्तकार थे, चाहे बुनकर, क्या लोहार या बढ़ई, कुम्हार, वह शनैः शनैः अपना पेशा छोड़कर शहरों की तरफ भाग रहे हैं। कृषि पर लगे लोग भी आहिसता आहिस्ता छोड़कर चले आ रहे हैं। इसका कारण यह है कि दूसरे पेशों के मुकाबले में कृषि की आय और दूसरे पेशों की आय में भी अंतर बढ़ता जा रहा है।

मान्यवर, कृषि पर आधारित लोगों की आय दो पंचवर्षीय योजनाओं के पश्चात 121 रुपए थी और शहरों में रहने वाले, आदमियों की 545 रुपए थी यानी 39 प्रतिशत आय भी गांव वाले भी शहरों में रहने वाले लोगों की आमदनी बढ़ी है और गांवो में रहने वाले लोगों की आमदनी उसके मुकाबले में 25 प्रतिशत ही रह गई है। मैं स्वीकार करता हूं कि विकास हुआ है, लेकिन गांवो का नहीं हुआ। अग्रिकल्चर और नान-अग्रिकल्चर इनकम कृषि पर आधारित आय आपके आंकड़ों के अनुसार सन 1950–51 से 1978–79 तक के 28–29 वर्षों में प्रति व्यक्ति 396 रुपए से बढ़कर 413 रुपए हुई थी और उसी अवधि में गैर-कृषि पेशे के लोगों की आय 632 से 1151 रुपए हो गई। आज स्थिति यह हो गई है कि अग्रिकल्चर पर आधारित आय उसी अनुपात में नहीं बढ़ी जिस अनुपात में दूसरी चीजों के दाम बढ़े है। किसान पर दोहरी मार पड़ी है। उसके पदार्थों की कीमतें कम और जिन चीजों को वह बाजार में खरीदने के लिए जाता है उनकी कीमतें ज्यादा देनी पड़ती है तो क्या किसान की स्थिति कभी सुधर सकेगी।

मान्यवर, मैं रिजर्व बैंक आफ इंडिया के आंकड़े वित्त मंत्री जी के सामने प्रस्तुत करना चाहता हूं। अनाज के मूल्यों में सन् 1971–72 की तुलना में जो वृद्धि हुई है वह 293 प्रतिशत हैं, विनिर्मित उत्पाद जिसे हम मैन्यूफैक्चर्ड गुड्स कहते हैं, उसकी कीमतें 354 प्रतिशत बढ़ी है। ऐडिबल आयल 340 प्रतिशत, कीटनाशक दवाइयां, जिनकी किसान को आवश्यकता है, वे भी बढ़ी हैं। माननीय वित्त मंत्री जी ने न जाने कितने आइटम्स पर कस्टम ड्यूटी में छूट दी है लेकिन कीटनाशक दवाइयों पर वे छूट देने की कृपा नहीं कर सके, उनकी कीमतें 432 प्रतिशत बढ़ी है। फार्म इनपुट्स जो कृषि निवेश है जिस के आधार पर किसान अपनी पैदावार

उगाता है, उसकी कीमतें 490 प्रतिशत घटी हैं और किसान जो पैदा करता है उसकी कीमतें 293 प्रतिशत बढ़ी हैं। किसान जिस इनपुट्स से पैदा करता है उनकी कीमतें 490 प्रतिशत माननीय मंत्री जी कहें तो रिजर्व बैंक के आंकड़े मेरे पास हैं, मैं बता सकता हूं कि किन-किन चीजों की कीमतें कितनी बढ़ी हैं, चाहे वह खाद है, डीजल है, कीटनाशक है, लोहा है, ट्रैक्टर वगैरह है। तो इस हिसाब से मैं बताना चाहता हूं कि कृषि आय में और गैर कृषि आय में और गांव की आय में और शहर वालों की आय में इस अवधि में अंतर दिन पर दिन बढ़ता चला जा रहा है।" जो समाजवादी नीति के सवर्था प्रतिकूल है। पूंजीवादी व्यवस्था में अन्दर बढ़ेगा। समाजवादी व्यवस्था में अन्तर नहीं पड़ना चाहिए। जो अन्तर था वह कम होना चाहिए था। लेकिन अमीर और अमीर होता जा रहा है और गरीब की हालत में मामूली सुधार हुआ है। गांव की तरफ हमारे वित्त मंत्री जी ने ध्यान नहीं दिया। गांव उजड़ते जा रहे हैं, शहर बसते और बनते जा रहे हैं। रही स्लम की बात तो गांव के स्लम को देख लीजियेगा। शहर के स्लम को देख लीजियेगा। मैं हर एक के साथ जाने को तैयार हूं। गांव के स्लम एरियाज को, गरीबों के एरियाज को आप देखिये। वित्त मंत्री जी मैं आपसे प्रार्थना करता हूं कि जो पूंजीवादी व्यवस्था की तरफ देश बढ़ने लगा है इसको रोकियेगा। गरीब और अमीर के अन्तर को कम कीजियेगा। गांव से शहर की तरफ जो लोग भाग रहे हैं उनको रोकियेगा। गांव से लोग शहर की तरफ क्यों भाग यहे हैं? वे इसलिए भाग रहे हैं कि वहां शिक्षा की व्यवस्था ठीक नहीं है। प्राइमरी स्कूलों में पढ़ाने वाले टीचर जाने को तैयार नहीं हैं। वहां बैठने के लिए जगह नहीं है। स्वास्थ्य की सुविधाएं नहीं हैं। सुरक्षा की व्यवस्था नहीं है, पीने के पानी की व्यवस्था नहीं है। जितने टाऊन एरियाज हैं वहां के लोग अपने नल का पानी लेना चाहते हैं लेकिन सब जगह टाऊन एरिया में म्युनिसिपलिटी ने अपने वाटर सिस्टम का अरेंजमेंट किया है लेकिन राजस्थान जहां पीने के लिए पानी नहीं है, तालाब का मजबूर होकर पानी पीते हैं वहां आपने नहीं किया। वहां आपको प्रियोरिटी देनी चाहिए न कि शहरों में, कस्बों में इस प्रकार की व्यवस्था करें। ऐसा करना सर्वथा अनुचित है।

मैं आपको पहले भी बता चुका हूं कि इस देश में 20 बड़े हाऊसेज हैं। यह आप मेरे से ज्यादा जानते हैं लेकिन इन 20 बड़े हाउसेज में, मैंने इनके नाम लिख रखे हैं मैं नाम नहीं लेन चाहता, 70–80 से इनकी आय दिन प्रतिदिन बढ़ती ही जा रही है। इसको आप रोकने की कोशिश कीजिए।

जहां तक किसानों का सवाल है मैं किसानों के लिए आपसे केवल पैरिटी चाहता हूं। जो चीज वह पैदा करता है, जो चीज वह पैदा करने में इस्तेमाल करता है, जो चीज वह अपनी पैदावार बेच कर खरीदना चाहता है इसमें आप समानता लाइयेगा। अगर आप इसमें समानता नहीं ला सकेंगे तो आप इस देश में आर्थिक स्थिति को नहीं सुधार सकेंगे ग्रामीण लोगों के लिए आर्थिक स्थिति में सुधार नहीं ला सकते। यह शिकायत हमेशा बनी रहेगी।

ग्रामीण लोगों के लिए, भूमिहीन लोगों के लिए, गरीब आदमियों के लिए एक अच्छा कदम आपने उठाया था—आई० आर० डी० पी०, एन० आर० ई० पी० और एल० ई० जी० पी० का। मैं केवल इस सम्बन्ध में निवेदन करना चाहता हूं कि कर्मचारी इन गरीब आदमियों तक पूरी सबसिडी जाने नहीं देते। पूरा पैसा उन तक पहुंचता नहीं है। इसलिए इन गरीब आदमियों को पूरा फायदा पहुंचाने के लिए अगर आप यह कर सकें तो उनको बगैर रिश्वत दिये पूरा पैसा, पूरी सबसिडी मिल जाए अन्यथा आप उनके लिए कोई सुधार नहीं कर सकेंगे।

गांव में आपने जमीनें दी। गांव में लोगों की सीलिंग की ली, ग्राम समाज की ली। मैं उत्तर प्रदेश के बारे में जानता हूं। उन जमीनों पर लेखपाल निशान

[श्री वीरेन्द्र वर्मा]

नहीं लगाना चाहता। गरीब आदमी से कहता है कि पैसा दे दो, दो सौ, तीन सौ रुपये दे दो हम जमीन नाप देंगे। वह अमीर आदमियों से जमीन जुतवाते हैं। मैं आपका ध्यान इसलिए आकर्षित करना चाहता हूं कि आप इस दिशा में कुछ सोचें। वैसे राजनीतिक दृष्टि से ग्राम सभाओं की स्थापना बहुत अच्छी बात हुई है। लेकिन गांव का शुद्ध वातावरण, शान्त वातावरण समाप्त हो गया। इस कद्र गुटबंदी पार्टीबंदी हो गयी है जिसकी कोई इंतहा नहीं है। मैं यह बात आपके ध्यान के लिए कह रहा हूं। वैसे इसका आर्थिक अवस्था से कोई वास्ता नहीं है।

मान्यवर, आपने कपास और जूट की जो कीमत मुकर्रर की है उस कीमत पर किसानों से कोई खरीदता नहीं है। ऐसी स्थिति में किसानों का माल कैसे बिके? जूट की आपने जो कीमत मुकर्रर की है उससे सैकड़ों रुपया कम कीमत पर किसानों को अपना जूट बेचना पड़ रहा है। एक गरीब आदमी एसी स्थिति में क्या करे? जहां तक गन्ने का मामला है, मैं स्वयं गन्ने का उत्पादक हूं, मेरी गन्ने में बहुत बड़ी दिलचस्पी है। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि किसानों का तो आपने केवल 1-रु० बढ़ाया, लेकिन एक वर्ष के अन्दर मिल-मालिकों के लिए चीनी के दाम 80-रु० क्वींटल बढ़ा दिये। पहली फरवरी, 85 में 40-रु० क्वींटल बढ़ाये और फिर दिसम्बर, में 40-रु० और बढ़ा दिये। इस प्रकार से आठ महीनों के अन्दर आपने 80-रु० क्वींटल चीनी की कीमत बढ़ा दी। किसानों को आपने सिर्फ 2 रु० दिये मैं अब आपने 1 रु० बढ़ाया है। गन्ने की कीमतों के बारे में आप एक साइंटिफिक तरीका तरीका निकालये। मेरा सुझाव यह है कि चीनी में गन्ना एक प्रमुख कांस्टट्यूरन्ट है, प्रमुख अंग है चीनी की कीमत निकालने में गन्ना प्रमुख रा मेटिरियल है। चीनी की उत्पादन कास्ट में गन्ने का जब तक आप कोई प्रतिशत निश्चित नहीं करते हैं तब तक किसानों का भला नहीं हो सकता है।

श्रीमन्, जहां तक सरकारी उपक्रमों का संबंध है, मैंने सार्वजिनक उपक्रमों की स्थापना बड़ी आशा के साथ की थी। मैं यह स्वीकार करता हूं कि इसमें कुछ सुधार हुआ है, लेकिन अभी भी बहुत सार्वजनिक उपक्रमों में नुकसान हो रहा है कोयला उद्योग नुकसान में चलता जा रहा है ये उपक्रम क्यों नुकसान में पहुंचे? केवल मात्र मैनेजिंग डायरेक्टर या चेयरमैन को बदलने से काम नहीं चलने वाला नहीं है आपको इसके लिए एक टेक्नीकल सैल स्थापित करना चाहिए जो इन उपक्रमों की जांच करे कि किन कारणों से नुकसान हो रहा है। आप केवल मात्र अधिकारियों को बदल दें, दिस इज नो पानिशमेन्ट। इसलिए मैंने कहा कि इसके लिए एक टेक्नीकल सैल बनाया जाना चाहिए। इससे आप रिसोर्सेज भी जेनरेट कर सकते हैं। अभी स्थिति यह है कि इन उपक्रमों पर आपका कोई चैक नहीं है। मैं समझता हूं कि इससे आपको निश्चित रूप से फायदा होगा। मान्यवर हिन्दुस्तान पेपर कारपोरेशन है। उसके बारे मैं मैंने क्वेश्चन किया था। मुझे बताया गया कि 360 करोड़ रुपयों का उसमें अब तक नुकसान हो चुका है। अगले तीन सालों में यह नुकसान 11 सौ करोड़ रुपयों का तक हो जाएगा। 360 करोड़ रुपयों का नुकसान यह संस्था दे चुकी हैं। अब तीन सालों में 11 सौ करोड़ रुपयों का और नुकसान होगा। सारा पैसा मैनेजिंग डायरेक्टर और दूसरे लोग खा गये। जहां तक फारन एक्सचेंज की बात है फारन एक्सचेन्ज मार्च, 1986 में हमारा 7384 में करोड़ रुपये थे 'जून में, यह घटकर 7084 हो गया है और सितम्बर में यह 6754 करोड़ रूपया रह गया है। इसे बढ़ाने की आवश्यकता है। यह घटना नहीं चाहिए जहां तक इम्पोर्ट और एक्सपोर्ट का संबंध है, हमारा एक्सपोर्ट 8616 करोड़ रुपयों रुपयों का था, लेकिन वह भी घटा है। हमारा इम्पोर्ट बढ़ा है और एक्सपोर्ट कम हुआ है। इम्पोर्ट को और कम करने की आवश्यकता है। मैं यह भी कहना चाहता हूं कि हमारी आर्थिक स्थिति तब

तक सुधर नहीं सकती है जब तक आप भ्रष्टाचार को चैक नहीं करते हैं। आज स्थिति यह है कि हमारे देश में भ्रष्टाचार आसमान को छू गया है। हर विभाग में भ्रष्टाचार बेरोकटोक चल रहा है। भ्रष्टाचार को किस प्रकार से समाप्त किया जाय, इस पर आपकी गम्भीरता से सोचने की आवश्यकता है इसको रोकने की आवश्यकता है।

इसे रोकने की आवश्यकता है, अपने उपक्रमों में, कारखानों में, दफ्तरों में, निर्माण के कार्यों में हर जगह इसको आप रोकिये, काले धन के लिये छापे आपने मारे इसके लिए मैं आपको बधाई दूंगा लेकिन छापे मार कर आप सारा जब्त कर लिया करें केवल उस पर टैक्स न लगाया करें। जिनके पास यह हो उनको आप जेल भी भेजा करें। अगर 400 रुपया किसी किसान पर बकाया रह जाय तो वह हवालात में जाता है तो 4 करोड़ रुपये जिन मिल मालिकान के पास बकाया हो वे हवालात में क्यों न जाये वे हवालात का मुंह क्यों न देखें? अगर ऐसा नहीं है तो वह कैसा समाजवाद है। इसलिये आप छापे भी मारें और काले धन को जो जब्त करें और उनको हवालात का मुंह भी दिखायें मान्यवर यह जो रुपये का मूल्य गिरता जा रहा है इसके बारे में भी आप कुछ सोचियेगा।

आखिर में एक बात कहकर मैं समाप्त करता हूं। मान्यवर बेरोजगारी मिटाने के लिये आपने काम किया लेकिन फिर भी देश में बेरोजगारी बढ़ती जा रही है और गांव का पढ़ा लिखा आदमी ठोकरें खाते हुए फिर रहा है। इसलिये बेकारी और बेरोजगारी को जहां आप समाप्त करने की सोचें तो गांवों की तरफ आपकी निगाह जानी चाहिए। आप गांवों में एग्रो इंडस्ट्री स्थापित करें कुटीर उद्योग स्थापित करें गांव में जो काम होते हैं उनको वहीं प्रारम्भ करवायें जिससे गांव के लोगों को वहां रोजगार मिल सके। जब गांव वालों को रोजगार के अच्छे अवसर प्राप्त होंगे तभी समानरूप से देश की आर्थिक प्रगति होगी और तभी आर्थिक स्थिति का सही चित्रण देश के सामने आयेगा, इससे गांव और शहर के आदमी बराबर उठेंगे और तभी देश का भला होगा।

SHRI KRISHNA KUMAR BIRLA (Rajasthan): Mr. Vice-Chairman, it is a good thing, Sir, that the Finance Minister has moved this motion for discussion on the economic situation. The country will be shortly completing the first two years of the Seventh Plan and, therefore, a reiew will be very helpful. What, Sir, is the picture at present? In the first two years, it appears that the overall growth in G.N.P. is going to be something like 4.5 per cent against the target of 5 per cent and the rise in industrial production about 6.6 per cent against the target of 8 per cent. I regard it not bad at all. Agricultural production has not been satisfactory this year. But even than it is a matter for satisfaction that as far as the buffer stock is concerned the country has a buffer stock of 29 million tonnes. Not only that, Sir. It is a very happy augury that India has emerged as an exporter of wheat, onions, rice, fruits and vegetables. In fact, it is a matter of satisfaction that fruits are available even in big villages.

Inflation last year was satisfactory, being only about 3.7 per cent; this year the inflation is high. But I understand; this is receiving the attention of the hon. Finance Minister. And I have no doubt that in case greater check is kept over non-plan and non-developmental expenditure, inflation will again be restored to the last year's level.

That apart, in the last two years commendable steps have been taken by the Government to liberalise economy, such as many industries have been de-licensed, imports have been liberalised, MRTP limits have been raised and many items which were reserved for the public sector have been thrown open to the private

[Shri Krishna Kumar Birla]

sector also. (*Interruption*) Yes, Sir, the economy from my point of view is good.

However, the economy is beset with many problems. The balance of trade as in 1985-86 was Rs. 8616 crores, probably the highest ever recorded, Inventories are very high, sales are not picking up, exports are not improving in real terms. And, Sir, what is very disturbing is that a large number of industries such as engineering, cement, man-made fibres, cotton textiles, jute industry and consumer durables are in difficulties. Their profits have declined and they are facing great liquidity problems. There is resource constraint in the country also. I would certainly like to compliment the hon. Finance Minister for the large increase revenue as far as taxes are concerned. But there have been natural calamities like drought of flood in the country. There was drought in Rajasthan and there were floods in north India. We find that the demands of those States in this respect were not met. The condition of Finances in the States is even more pitiable. And no wonder, because most of the resources unfortunately are going towards making payment of the salaries and wages of an army of employees hardly anything is spent on developmental work. What are the solutions? The first thing that I would like to emphasise is that we should try to understand the banes of a high cost economy. High cost economy slows expansion of all sectors. It affects employment. It makes exports uncompetitive. Hence there should be a scheme which would lead to more exports, which will give impetus to domestic sale, which will lower consumer resistence and which will improve the economy and health of the industries. But unfortunately the fact is that most of the major constituents, most of the ingredients of cost of production are absolutely out of control. Let us take a few instances. Raw materials is one of the important constituent of the cost of production. Then there are wages, interest, cost of power, overheads and, of course, the obiquitous excise duty. The high cost of these ingredients is playing havoc in all these sectors.

Sir, I would very humbly plead with the Finance Minister that although there might be high cost in respect of a large number of industries, there is one industry where he should try to make an exception and that is the capital goods industry. The reason why I am saying this is that this industry enjoys a unique position. If the cost of the capital goods industry can be kept at a low level, this will have effect on the cost of production of almost all the industries. Take the cost of cement industry. A cement plant of about one million-ton capacity at the present prices will cost something like 140 crores. Assuming that a cement plant could be put up at a cost of 75 or 80 crores of rupees, it will completely change the economy of the cement industry. The same applies to the other industries also. What are the reasons and why is the cost of capital goods industry so high? The reasons are simple. The cost of steel in this country is double compared to the cost of steel in other countries of the world. Interest rates are two or four times more. The cost of power is three times more. The cost of wages, owing to poor productivity in this country, is also high. Owing to high cost of capital goods, there is another direction in which the industry is suffering and that is, that modernisation is not taking place and modernisation has become prohibitive. As a result of that, owing to lack of modernisation, most of the industries unfortunately are going towards sickness. My submission and appeal to the Finance Minister will be that in respect of the capital goods, let there be lower prices of steel, let there be lower rates of interest and let there be lower cost of power to them so that the capital goods industry can produce goods at a low cost. Then, Sir, the problems ...

AN. HON. MEMBER: The IPPL scheme is there.

SHRI KRISHNA KUMAR BIRLA: That it only in respect of a few sick industries. Then, Sir, the problems of industries going to sickness...

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: On this point, Mr. Birla, you have the support right upto Mr. Nirmal Chatterjee.

SHRI KRISHNA KUMAR BIRLA: Sometimes that is a good thing. Sir, apart from generalisation, I would also submit to the Finance Minister that he should also examine the case of various industries on the basis of case to case. Now, take the case of cement industry. For the last three or four years there has been absolutely no rise as far as cement industry is concerned although the cost of production has gone very high. Take the case of textile industry. Why is the textile industry suffering? One of the main reasons is that in this country, unfortunately, according to the rough estimates made by many people, the amount of smuggling that is taking place is to the extent of Rs. 3,000 crores. Sir, I understand that the Indian Cotton Mills Federation has submitted a scheme to the Government of India. They have suggested that in case the excise duty could be reduced—no doubt, it will mean some sacrifice on the part of the Finance Minister—then this amount of foreign exchange which is going towards smuggling will be greatly reduced. I hope this will receive the attention of the hon. Finance Minister. Sir, take the case of fertilizer industry. In the fertilizer industry, there has been excessive import and as a result of that, the fertilizer industry is going towards sickness. Sir, another industry is the automobile industry. And there, unfortunately, there has been a withdrawal of concessional rate on excise duty and customs duty on components of fuel efficiency...

SHRI JAGESH DESAI: Out of 11 in the fertilizer industry, nine are making profits.

SHRI KRISHNA KUMAR BIRLA: You see the latest reports. Many of them would not be making profits, including some of the Government units.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY (Pondicherry): Only two days back the Minister said that two are running at a loss and the others are making profits.

SHRI KRISHNA KUMAR BIRLA: Kindly take it from me. I am also in the fertilizer industry. I have also got one fertilizer unit. I can also say something with authority as far as fertilizer industry is concerned... *(Interruption)* Kindly bear with me. In fact, the Government have themselves told us, 'kindly do not reduce your price because this is putting the Government fertilizer units also in a very bad position. This has been told by the Government themselves. This is a fact. Then, Sir...

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: Are you ready to reduce the prices? You tell me this.

SHRI KRISHNA KUMAR BIRLA: Sir, we have already reduced the prices. We are going to sickness as a result of that. I am sure you would not like that the industry should become sick by reducing the prices.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE: When the Government says 'don't reduce the prices', how Mr. Birla can defy the Government?

SHRI KRISHNA KUMAR BIRLA: We have to defy if we have to survive. This is the point. After all, our inventories are going up. So, there will be no option but to tell the Government that either you find a formula or you permit us this...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN): It only shows how serious is the Finance Minister.

SHRI KRISHNA KUMAR BIRLA: Sir, my only submission to the Finance Minister will be this that let there be a constant dialogue so that our problems are understood, our problems are appreciated. After that whatever be the decision of the Government we are always bound to comply with those decisions.

[Shri Krishna Kumar Birla]

Sir, our only aim should be this and this should be the aim of our country also that industries in the country should prosper, the common man should prosper, the labour should prosper. And all of them can prosper in case the industry prospers. After all, what is the position today? The industries in Japan, the industries in Germany are looking towards America, to go to America and start industries there. Why? It is because these industries in Germany and Japan are doing very well. I am sure that should be our aim also so that our industries go and try to start new industries in other countries.

Sir, liberalisation of imports is a good thing. I do not deny that at all. But I would side by side plead that let there be certain caution as far as this is concerned. Let there be no over-liberalisation. Unfortunately, over-liberalisation has been taking place. It has taken place in many industries. And that should also be kept in view. Apart from that, Sir, when there is shortage of foreign exchange, why should there be over-liberalisation? I hope this will also receive the kind attention of the Finance Minister.

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: Again on another point Chaturananji will support you on this point.

SHRI KRISHNA KUMAR BIRLA: Good I receive support from the left side from the right hand side.

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र : हम तो इनको जबानो करेंगे, आप कैश से करेंगे ।

SHRI KRISHNA KUMAR BIRLA: Then, Sir, I come to another important point regarding the capital market on which probably my hon. and esteemed friend Atal Bihari Vajpayee has said something. Now, Sir, capital market unfortunately is in a poor shape. What is the reason? One reason is that a large number of industries unfortunately are losing money. Another reason is that public sector has been permitted to issue income-tax free and wealth-tax free bonds or debentures. No, Sir, this is a point which we had taken up with the Finance Minister when he had introduced the Budget and we had told him that whatever concessions he gives to the public sector why does not he give the same to the private sector? And what is the result? The result is that whereas before the Budget a new company could have been floated, today a new company is finding it extremely...

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: Sorry for repeated interruptions. Now I will request the friends on the left side to please note our bias towards the public sector. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI KRISHNA KUMAR BIRLA. I am very happy that the Finance Minister is very attentive. Sir, my submission would be that till the captial market was buoyant, any company could have been floated but now the new shares cannot be floated and people are finding it very difficult. The result is that the financial institutions which are underwriters will become undertakers.

Sir, my last point is this. The question is how to improve the economy. In this connection, I want to say that there is one industry and in case that industry could be energised, in case the activity in in that industry could improve, it will have a salutary effect on all the industries that is the building industry. In case the building activity industry can be energised, in case this could be given a fillip, there will be demand for cement, there will be demand for steel and there will be demand for consumer durables and this will have a kind of chain reaction. In case there in demand generated in these spheres, there will be a chain reaction on almost all the industries which are passing through a period of sickness. (*Interruptions*) Let the Rent Control Act be revised so far as this is concerned, so that those who put new houses, new shops and new construction, Let them at least know that this is not going to be the rent which is perpetual rent and after some time as is done in Western countries, every three or five years, let the rent be revised.

Sir, these are some of the important observations which I hope the hon. Finance Minister will kindly consider. Thank you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN): Yes, Shri Bir Bhadra Pratap Singh.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE (West Bengal): Sir, while the Hon. Finance Minister is here, would you not call another Member from our party to speak. I had talked about it to the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs and he had agreed.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN): I wish to make an observation that the normal procedure...

SHRI BIR BHADRA PRATAP SINGH (Uttar Pradesh): You have not followed that in my case. (*Interruptions*).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN): The principle evolved is that...

SHRI BIR BHADRA PRATAP SINGH: An exception has already been made.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN): No, no, you are speaking. I am only informing Mr. Nirmal Chatterjee that the procedure followed here is that the time allotted to his party has already been taken earlier. And now only after all the Members have completed, then it will be given as second round. This is the procedure that is being followed. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: I talked to Mr. Jacob that before the Finance Minister leaves, we will speak and he agreed.

SHRI BIR BHADRA PRATAP SINGH: In fact this was my Primary contention that I was going to make out in this House in the presence of the Finance Minister and Opposition stalwarts. that we are doing the best in the circumstances and we could have done still better provided at least Mr. Nirmal Chatterjee Mr. Mishra and Mr. Chitta Basu also might have a proper realisation of our efforts... (*Interruptions*). I do not want to indulge into ideological discussions because I know limitation of my time. So, my simple question is—because I am one of those who do not believe in the philosophy of Keynes and others; I still believe that scientific socialism is the best socialism, not abrasion socialism that socialist countries have differed in their economic approach and even socialist parties in the country have differed among themselves. That is the basic question. That is why a person like Mr. K. K. Birla, when he speaks in the House, puts an allurement to us. What is that allurement for the industrialists in Japan and Germany who want to settle in America and establish industries there? I request Mr. Birla, and would persuade Americans to accept one-tenth of our poor population and see whether American economy can sustain that or not. That is the basic question. Probably he did not look at it from that point of view.

SHRI KRISHNA KUMAR BIRLA: It is a very difficult question.

SHRI BIR BHADRA PRATAP SINGH: That is why I always appeal to the left political parties to realise that under the circumstances we are doing the best and they should please try to appreciate it. It will help us.

The main question for debate has been the question of resource mobilisation. Many arguments from both sides have been advanced. I need not repeat them except for the purpose of putting a little emphasis on it. Before I take up the major questions, a very useful suggestion has been thrown up by somebody who spoke from our side yesterday that wasteful expenditure must be cut down. But the question is, how to cut it down? The whole national temperament is like that unless some Ho Chi Minh and Mahatma Gandhi is reborn in India—somebody to influence the public morale. Not only the Treasury Benches but even Opposition persons have to give up that attitude of life. Only then wasteful expenditure can be

[Shri Bir Bhadra Pratap Singh]

cut down. To quote an example, after the Russian revolution, the country had the most rapid growth in economy. Not that it is a fascist economy; I treat it as socialist economy; I am appreciative of it. Whereas the national liking was for rough cloth, but fine cloth came in Russia after a very long time. I quote another example of Vietnam where the national trend from the beginning uptill now is to find a solution to the proposition how to cut down wasteful expenditure. It will not be possible for the Finance Minister to cutdown wasteful expenditure by introducing some reforms here or there, unless the whole temper of the nation is towards that aim; otherwise, I feel, as an Indian, because of the long tradition, because of our history, because of economic life that we have lived, it is difficult to cut down wasteful expenditure.

Temperamentally, we are aristocratic. Nobody has been able to shun away from that, including the most revolutionary men in this country. We have not had a Ho Chi Minh in this country. Mahatma Gandhi died long ago. The question is, how should we reduce wasteful expenditure? This is a fundamental question and the hon. Finance Minister should address to it.

Closely linked with this question is the question of capacity utilisation. We have heard about the public sector. We have heard about the private sector. We have heard Mr. Birla, an exponent of the private sector. We are all for the public sector. We have also debated in this House many a time the question of sick industries. The hon. Finance Minister has made certain suggestions in the two papers which he has presented. But it is not only an economic question; it is a political question as well. I will come to the other two questions a little later. I am happy that after Mr. Gorbachev's visit, an agreement has been signed on economic co-operation. But we do not know what are the things to come. We are still in the dark. We only know the broader features of it. In the meanwhile, the country has to find its own resources to implement the plans to run the economy and to meet the requirements of a developing society.

Only two or three things have been suggested. I will just hint at them and then come to my main question. My contention is that if we go to the World Bank and other institutions for lending us money, we will only fall into a debt trap. Why not we go to our people who have migrated to the other countries, namely, the non-resident Indians? When I say this, I should not be misunderstood here. I will explain the point later on.

So far as the question of inflation is concerned, the hon. Finance Minister has said that up to mid-October, it is 6.2 per cent, as against 5 per cent last year. If this is so if inflation has increased from 5 to 6.2 or 6.6 per cent, this trend has to be checked. Otherwise it would nullify other prospects of the economy.

Then, there is the question of self-reliance: I will only make a passing reference to it. It has been realised by all our businessmen—I must emphasise it here—that foreign technology should be obtained mainly to design and develop Indian products and only technological programmes in which there is complete transfer of technology should be allowed. Our businessmen feel that self-reliance is being given a go by. In the electronics sector, when they talk about computers and TVs, the Indian manufactures feel that they are only asked to use the screwdrivers and everything else is imported from outside. They feel, therefore, that their efforts are hampered. Anyway, I am not holding any brief for them.

My main point is, what should be done till we know the extent of the Soviet assistance and till we fully realise the Soviet help which is coming to us. Of course, we have debated that a certain portion of the Soviet assistance given to us has not been utilised. Considering all these things, what should we do?

It was said that Indians have undertaken contracts in 38 countries. It has also been said that our Indians have taken out money out of the country. Some say, it is capital flight. Well, in France, due

to bank nationalisation mitierand had to face this problem. There was a good deal of capital flight from France, but subsequently, he had to take a position and convinced those capitalists that their interest will not be jeopardised, their interest will be safe, so please revert back to the country with your finances. Recently, this summer when I was in Paris I was trying to study the question as to how Mr. Mitterand could persuade his people to revert back and invest in France itself. I had a talk with many of the good economists. When I went to some of the Scandinavian countries and London, I met with certain Indian economists in South Hall. They told me their difficulty. Of course, it is not that I want capitalism, but our resources are more important, our development is more important, the structure of our economy is more important. They told me that the Indians have as many as 235 projects outside the country and a joint sector operation is taking place in 38 countries of the world. I am quite conscious when our Finance Minister declared amnesty. At that time Prof. Nirmal Chatterjee asked a question whether this amnesty was granted to the thieves, dacoits and murderers also. It is an extreme thinking.

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: I hape he was not thinking of his own amnesty.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: I am a socialist Therefore, I was concerned about the Council of Ministers.

SHRI BIR BHADRA PRATAP SINGH: I felt that the money goes out of the country for many reasons. Some people have run away because of the Finance Minister's strict policy, but the question is, could we persuade them to come back? The main emphasis of Professor Chatterjee was that this illegal black money will be brought back as white money. That is prebably his objection. Probably, his objection was this also that the people will take away the money to Switzerland. But that is not so. I have found that the amount is deposited in the banks of Swiss, Bermuda, America, Hongkong and Singapore.

श्री अशवनि कुमार (बिहार) : आपको पता लग गया कहां अनेक मनो है कौन रखते हैं, यह बता दीजिए।

SHRI BIR BHADRA PRATAP SINGH: I know of a case...

PROF. C. LAKSHMANNA (Andhra Pradesh): Mr. Finance Minister please take a note of this (*Interruptions*).

SHRI BIR BHADRA PRATAP SINGH: Sir, I would never have attacked a political party, but he is compelling me to give an example. Mr. S.A. Dange was caught in case of foreign exchange. Pandit Govind Vallabh Pant was the Home Minister at that time. The file was put up to *him and I know what was written in the* note. It is written in that file that since *Opposition in this country is required to* be more strong in order to run an efficient *democracy, it is not in the fitness of* things to launch a prosecution against him.

Therefore, the file was closed. So, there is no dearth of examples. There are examples...

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA (West Bengal): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Mr. Dange is now in their company. We have thrown him away from our party. He is now in their company. He is in their company.

SHRI M. A. BABY (Kerala): That is why he has been thrown away.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: He is in your company. You should say, "one of our friends". This applies to one of your own friends, not to one of those who belong to left parties. We have chucked him out for being friends with you.

SHRI CHATURANAN MISHRA: Everybody knows it is not business money. You are only misleading.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN): I would only plead with the hon. Member that he has got

[Shri G. Swaminathan]

very little time. Already he has exceeded his time. So, I would say that if you make a controversial statement, then your time will be taken up by others. So you please stick to your points without making any controversial statement.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: Sir, he is telling about black money in Switzerland. Why do you deny him the opportunity? Please give him some time.

SHRI BIR BHADRA PRATAP SINGH: Sir, I am on my last point. But when interruptions come, then a suitable reply has to be given. And here is a party which is accusing us. They were our partners during the emergency. Now they are making a cry saying we were in power. During the entire period of emergency they were with us. But when the new elections were declared and they found that we were thrown out of power ...

SHRI CHATURANAN MISHRA: We supported you to be in power. Instead of accepting that, you are saying you were in power. Had we not supported you, you would have been cleaning the plates.

SHRI BIR BHADRA PRATAP SINGH: You were our good partners in emergency.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: We had never been your partners. We have stated it on a number of occasions that you committed the mistake, it is your baby. Emergency is the illegitimate baby of Congress (I). We do not hold it. Mr. Chairperson, emergency is the illegitimate baby of Congress (I). Let Congress (I) defend it. Let Congress (I) not throw that baby on our shoulders.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN): Please allow him to speak.

[The Vice-Chairman(Shrimati Kanak Mukherjee) in the Chair.]

SHRI BIR BHADRA PRATAP SINGH: So, let us have all resources mobilised. And one of the resources to which I was referring is this: money from this country in one circumstance or the other has flown to other countries; the moot question that I want to emphasise is how to get that money back. Instead of going with a begging bowl to the World Bank, to other American and rich countries, in preference to that; let us convince our own people, like President Mitterand has done, to come back with their capital. And thereafter fight of capital stopped in France. Likewise we want to create a situation that our own people who have gone outside the country with their capital should revert back to our economy and there should be utilization of this capital. Already they are very much involved in our joint operation of Indian capitalists with foreign governments. They are working in as many as 38 countries and there are 235 projects already in operation. So much financial resources of our men are outside the country. I think this is the best mode of mobilising these resources, apart from the resources that we have been expecting from our Soviet friends by way of that treaty which has been recently arrived at. I hope and trust and I depend on our Soviet friends. But there is no harm in getting back that money which in one situation or the other, in one form or the other has gone to outside countries. Therefore, our Finance Minister was perfectly right when he granted amnesty. When amnesty were granted, this was the apprehension expressed that after amnesty they will not contribute. Now

4.00 P.M. we are talking of finance, comfortableness or tax realization. If this could be the situation, I tell you, the same condition would be possible in our resource mobilization, if this brings results—which is bound to bring results. After all, there is no better country, there is no safer country other than India to invest. Then these brethren who have so much capital under different circumstances in foreign countries are bound to come back and invest here in India and that is bound to solve our problem of resource mobilization. Thank you, Madam.

SHRI CHITTA BASU (West Bengal): Madam Vice-Chairman, yesterday, the honourable Finance Minister made his statement. Though I do not see him here now, it does not matter because Mr. Poojari is there and, therefore, the Government is there and the Finance Ministry is there. When he was making the statement in this House, I think an impression has been sought to be created by his speech that the economic situation of our country is not so bad. Rather, he, in the course of his speech, wanted to convey the message to the countrymen that the Government is correcting its position and there will be no difficulty in the matter of overcoming the situation.

Madam, I am very much sorry to comment at this stage that this was not at all a correct position. As a matter of fact, I am to make this cautious statement in this House that the economic situation of our country is alarming and it should be taken proper note of. While I make this statement I am quite alive and conscious that I am exposing myself to the charge from the Finance Minister that I am a prophet of doom. Naturally I don't like to be a prophet of doom, but in order to shield myself from that charge I have taken adequate caution and I would mention, in justification of my comments, that I have heavily drawn upon the comments of the Reserve Bank of India and its Annual Report of 1985-86. And even if the honourable Minister makes that charge that I am a prophet of doom, I think it is the Reserve Bank of India which will be the prophet of doom.

Madam, on many occasions, from this side and that side also, a very important question has been raised, that is, that the Government has in a very concealed manner taken resort to the policy of devaluation of the rupee and it has always been the occasion for the Government to refute it. I want to make it clear to the honourable Finance Minister, through you, that actually devaluation of the rupee has been taking place. Now, according to the information available with me, I find that the dollar has appreciated by 28 per cent against the rupee, sterling by six per cent and yen by 50 per cent since 1982. Is it not a devaluation of the rupee, in a different manner? Although the official policy is not to devalue the rupee, still devaluation has already taken place. This is one of the indicators of the bad shape of the economy of our country.

Now, as for myself I will show them some indicators. I do not propose to take a number of indicators to substantiate my comment. Now, on the price front, what does the RBI Annual Report say? As every one of us here knows, prices are increasing, and increasing uninterruptedly. Of course, the hon. Finance Minister and the Ministry as a whole always claims, and it is of late claimed that there has been deceleration of the wholesale prices in 1985-86. But what does the RBI say? It says that the deceleration of the wholesale prices in 1985-86 coexisted with the sharp uptrend in the consumer prices. The first part, they sal: the second part, they do not say. This sharp uptrend in the consumer prices was also there in 1985-86, and that is also further increasing. The consumer prices recorded on point-to-point basis a rise of 8.9 per cent in 1985-86, against 5 per cent in 1984-85 and in the current year they are icreasing. Madam.

Now, take the indicator. I quote this figure from the Reserve Bank of India. The ratio of net domestic saving to net national product has remained by and large unchanged since 1983-84. This is yet another indicator of the bad shape of the economy.

Then, there is the inflow of external resources. That is also another indicator. There is a large rise in the ratio of external resources inflow to NNP, from 1.3 per cent in 1984-85 to 2 per cent in 1985-86.

Then, coming to the annual trade deficit the annual trade deficit hovered around Rs. 5,500 crores in the Sixth Five Year Plan. Now it has

[Shri Chitta Basu]

shot up to more than Rs. 8,616 crores in 1985-86. In the first year of the Seventh Five Year Plan it has further increased. During 1985-86 the exports were placed at Rs. 11,006 crores, and imports at Rs. 19,622 crores. But the exports declined by 7.2 per cent and, the imports increased by 14.3 per cent over 1984-85. In this case some hopes have been expressed that the export position can be improved, and they want to narrow down the gap between the exports and imports by about Rs 1,500 crores.

I would only draw the attention of the hon. Minister of Finance to the fact that it has been said even by the Prime Minister that the export of the 75 large manufacturing units having an annual turnover of over Rs. 4,000 crores, is less than 1 per cent of their production. Here was Mr. Birla. I do not find him now. What is the contribution of the 75 large industrial houses? According to the Prime Minister, and I think nobody can deny it because the Prime Minister has said so, their contribution in the export trade is only 1 per cent; and Mr. Birla is their spokesman. Therefore, I want to know, and the country and the House have got a right to know from the Government how this Government says that in a short time they will be able to narrow down the yawning gap between the exports and the imports.

Madam, as I think, the situation would have or might have reached a zero point but it has been averted and averted because of the fact that the net receipts under foreign currency non-resident account scheme has drastically increased to Rs. 1,151 crores in 1985-86 from only Rs. 275 crores in 1984-85. That was the reason, the factor which contributed to a very great extent to avert the near-crisis situation. Regarding the trade gap the Reserve Bank has commented.

"It calls for an urgent measures to review the current amount of deficit."

It says further:

"Fresh look at the balance of payment scenario for the Seventh Plan is to be taken."

One of the most important indicators of economic and industrial health of the country is the growth of capital goods. The rate of growth of the capital goods was only 3.5 per cent in 1985-86. It was only 2.6 per cent in the previous year. It is also known that the performance of mance of the infrastructure sector is not very satisfactory. Therefore, very little can be expected for further boosting up of the economy in the coming years.

I now come to the expenditure side. The Finance Minister was very much pleased to say the same thing about expenditure. Earlier an announcement was made that the Government wants to reduce avoidable expenditure. He wanted to cut five per cent expenditure. I do not know why this proposal has been shelved and what has contributed to the improvement of the economy. But I may point out, these are some of the items of expenditure, which if reduced, will tell very heavily upon the people as a whole. One of the major items of expenditure is the interest payment. He will agree with me that this year the expenditure on interest payment has gone up by over 18.2 per cent over the last year and it will be increasing year after year because of our obligations to the IMF. Expenditure on defence has also increased by 11 per cent over the last year. We cannot grudge this increase because defence expenditure is dependent upon external situation and the security environment. On that point there is no scope of a cut back.

Now, I come to the question of subsidy. The Government's mind is working on how to reduce subsidies. By reducing subsidies they want to get rid of this engulfing crisis caused by the increasing deficits. You know in 1986-87 subsidy amount will grow up to Rs. 8,728 crores. If my figures are a little wrong, don't

mind, but it will be around Rs. 8,000 crores. So far as the public distribution system, supply of fertilisers and other inputs are concerned, if the Government wants a reduction in this, it will, I must warn you, have an adverse effect on our production. On these subsidies should not be reduced, otherwise the easy availability of foodgrains and other essential commodities will be affected. Of course, I am for reduction of subsidies, but in other areas. As I have mentioned already there are certain concessions for export promotion or a variety of other concessions which are now being given to the monopoly houses. If they are reduced they will not affect the economy. But I am very much opposed to the idea of reducing subsidy in the sphere of essential services of the people. Madam, even now, I am very much surprised that the Government has taken this "administered prices" as the biggest weapon to attack the people. On many occasions I have already given the amount of money which they acquired through the increase of "administered prices" leaving aside the budgetary allocation and budgetary levy. It has been all along the practice for the last few years to impose levy at higher level than the budgetary levy through the potent weapon at the hands of the Government which they call the "administered prices".

Now, the Government is going to use that weapon again to beat the people, to attack the people, if they want to narrow the deficit which is increasing.

Madam, you might be aware that during the Seventh Five Year Plan, the deficit limit of our budget has been fixed up at Rs. 14,000 crores. I think, we are nearing at least Rs. 8,000 to Rs. 9,000 crores by this time. What will happen for the next three years?

Therefore, these are some of the indicators which I have mentioned in substantiation of my comment that the economic situation is not looking up; and the economic situation is not improving. It will reach very shortly a near crisis point which is not to be accused of a wild comment. Madam, what has been the net result of this? We are approaching very fast to the crisis point. How does the Government proposes to tide-over that crisis? That is also a matter of grave concern. They want to shift all the burden of this crisis on the masses, on the workers, on the peasants and on the middle-class employees.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI KANAK MUKHERJEE): Please conclude.

SHRI CHITTA BASU: I am concluding.

Therefore, Madam, they have taken a very disastrous course of admitting this crisis, that is, they are going soft towards these monopolists as Mr K.K. Birla has made out his point . He admitted that many concessions have been given to them. They are on the same wet land and already many concessions have been given. Even in today's speech also he wanted more concessions to be given. They want that there should be a speedier pace towards privatisation. Madam, this privatisation has already started and they wanted to accelerate the pace of this system. This is the way they want to meet that crisis. That approach to crisis and that way out of the crisis as defined by the Government would be all the more disastrous.

Madam, therefore, I would say that there should be a review of the economic policy. There should be a review of the fiscal policy of the Government and some appropriate measures to be taken to meet this crisis. Madam, in that regard, I have moved an amendment and I hope and believe the hon. Finance Minister would take note of the amendment and agree to review the current economic and fiscal policies which are anti-people which effects will be disastrous for the national economy. This will create a very big shock and a very big social inter-action. In order to fight that kind of social revolution, it is necessary that the Government should review its economy and fiscal policy reframing on the basis of the amendment which I have moved. I hope the House would take note of that amendment. Thank you.

डा० रत्नाकर पाण्डेय : (उत्तर प्रदेश) माननीया उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदया, हमारे

[श्री रत्नाकर पाण्डेय]

आदरणीय वित्त मन्त्री जी ने जो आर्थिक स्थिति पर प्रस्ताव सदन के समने रखा है वह कई दृष्टियों से महत्वपूर्ण है और अनेक तथ्यों की ओर ध्यान दिलाया गया है। आज उनके वक्तव्य में बहुत सी बातें ऐसी हैं जो हमारी अर्थ व्यवस्था के कई पहलुओं को स्पर्श करती हैं। आज हमारी जो औद्योगिक व्यवस्था है उस में हमारी अधिकांश पूंजी लगी हुई है और जितना धन हम लगाए हुए हैं उसकी वापसी उत्पाद के रूप में उसकी 30 प्रतिशत मात्रा में हो रही है। यह चिंता का विषय है। कई औद्योगिक संस्थानों में मुझे जाने का मौका मिला है और जो प्रबन्धक हैं वे चाहते हैं कि उत्पादन हो लेकिन लेबर अनरेस्ट से मजदूरों द्वारा आनदोलनों से बहुत अधिक उत्पादन पर असर पड़ता है। इस तरह का उदाहरण मिरजापुर के ओबरा थर्मल पावर स्टेशन में मिला जहां के जनरल मैनेजर ने मुझे बताया कि हम अगर एक्शन लेते हैं उस कर्मचारी पर जो काम नहीं करता है तो ऊपर से उसको छूट मिल जाती है और वह हमें अपशब्द कहते हुए आता है और काम नहीं करता है। इस तरह की कुप्रवृति है। इस कुप्रवित पर अंकुश लगाना होगा और कड़ाई से इसका मुकाबला करना होगा। अगर एग्जीक्यूटिव हेड कोई निर्णय लेता है तो वह अन्तिम हो उस पर ऊपर से कोई निर्णय करके उसके प्रशासन को ढीला न किया जाए। इससे हमारी अर्थव्यवस्था पर बहुत बुरा असर पड़ता है

मजदूरों की समस्याएं अपनी जगह पर हैं वे जो कुछ उत्पादन करते हैं उस में अधिकांश उनकी कामचोरी के कारण ठीक से जितना उत्पादन होना चाहिए वह नहीं हो पाता है। भारत गांवों का देश है। स्वदेशी आन्दोलन की शुरूआत गांधी जी ने की थी। हमारे वित्त मंत्री जी ने अपना सामाजिक जीवन सर्वोदय कार्यकर्त्ता के रूप में शुरू किया था और आज कुटीर उद्योगों को जिस गति स उस का अवसान हो रहा है और नए नए फैसन की और मशीनीकरण से उत्पादित वस्तुओं की ओर हम आकर्षित हो रहे हैं उससे भी बहुत अधिक नुकसान हो रहा है। हमारी दस्तकारी का और हमारे जो गांव की छोटी छोटी चीजें थी जिनका विश्व स्तर पर प्रचार-प्रसार हो सकता है, निर्यात किया जा सकता है, उनका यदि स्वदेशी स्तर पर उत्पादन यिया जाए तो बहुत बड़ी समस्या का समाधान आर्थिक क्षेत्र में हो सकता है और जो हमारा ज्ञान पुश्तों से युगों से चला आ रहा है विभिन्न परिवारों के हाथों में उसका विकास हो सकता है। कुटीर उद्योगों को विकसित करना आर्थिक दृष्टि से अनिवार्य होगा। किसान जो उत्पाद देता है उसका उसे वास्तविक मूल्य नहीं मिल रहा है। यह हमारे लिए गर्व की बात नहीं है कि हम चीनी और खाद्य तेलों का विदेशों से आयात करें। इसके लिए हमें चिन्ता करनी चाहिये और सोच करके कुछ ऐसे उपाय निकालने होंगे जिससे हमारे किसानों का तिलहन का उत्पादन बढ़े और हमारे यहां इतनी अत्याधिक मात्रा में ईख का उत्पादन होता है चीनी बनाने के जो कारखाने हैं उनसे इतना अधिक उत्पादन हो सकता है इस तरह से हमें विदेशों मे चीनी का आयात नहीं करना पड़ेगा। गांव में जब तक गांव का जीवन ऊंचा नहीं उठेगा वहां पेड़ के नीचे स्कूल लगते हैं टूटे हुए छप्परों में स्कूल लगते हैं, शिक्षा आत्मसाक्षात्कार का साधन है कोई भी उद्योग शिक्षित हाथों में जब जाएंगे, हमारी नयी पीढ़ी पूर्ण रूप से शिक्षित होगी। इसलिए प्राइमरी एजुकेशन की जो उपेक्षा है शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में उस पर आर्थिक दृष्टि से जोर देने की जरूरत है अनेक प्राइवेट स्कूल चलते हैं। उन्हें मान्यताएं नहीं मिल रही हैं।

समाज सेवक लोग अपनी धरती पर गांव सभाओं की जमीन पर विद्यालय स्थापित करते हैं लेकिन शासन की ओर से उनको सरकारी मान्यता डिग्रियां देने की या उन्हें अपनी परीक्षाओं को मान्यता दिलवाने की नहीं मिल पाती है। अनेक प्रकार की अड़चनें जो प्रारम्भिक शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में हैं उनको दूर करना होगा। इस में बहुत अधिक संख्या में ऐसे घर मिलेंगे जिनमें आज तक सिकड़ी नहीं लग पाई,

उनमें ताला नहीं बंद हो पाया, झोपड़ों में टट्टरों में और ऐसी जगहों पर अधिकांश इस देश की जनता रहती है जिनके पास इतना सीमित मिट्टी या कांसे का बर्तन है और रोज कमाते हैं रोज खाते हैं। उनके लिए हमारी सरकार ने ग्रामीण मजदूर योजनाएं चलाई हैं और बहुत सी जगह मुझे मालूम है कि जो काम के बदले अनाज दिया गया, वह अनाज बाजार में ब्लैक पर बिक गया और जिन्होंने काम किया उनको नहीं मिला। इस तरह का जो भ्रष्टाचार है वह एक जहर की तरह हमारे समाज में लगा हुआ है। जो धन की तस्करी करते हैं, टैक्स की चोरी करते हैं या अन्य तरह से आर्थिक व्यवस्था को पीछे ले जाते हैं, उनसे कम दोषी ऐसे व्यक्ति नहीं है। इस प्रस्ताव में कहा गया है कि गरीबी मिटाने के लिए गरीबी रेखा के नीचे जिंदा रहने वालों के लिए हम बहुत कुछ करना चाहते हैं लेकिन जब तक सरकार की ओर से दिये गये साधनों का सही ढंग से वितरण नहीं होगा, गरीबों के हिस्से का, और जो उन्हें ऋण जाता है चाहे प्रांत से जाये या केन्द्र से जाये अगर उनके पास सहीं ढंग से नहीं पहुंचता है तो हमारी अर्थव्यवस्था जिनके लिए हम इतना बड़ा प्रस्ताव कर रहे है, वहां तक वास्तव में पहुंच नहीं पाएगी। उनके लिए हमें उपाय करना है। आज स्मगलर्स की पैरेलल इक्नामी चलती है। हमारे वित्त मंत्री जी ने बहुत से कर चोरों पर, बहुत तस्करों पर छापे मारे हैं, उनका धन बरामद किया है, थोड़ा उन नव धनाड्यों में वे अलोकप्रिय भी हुए अपने डायनामिक एक्शन के द्वारा, लेकिन यह सब पहली बार उन्होंने किया इसके लिए मैं उन्हें बधाई देता हूं लेकिन जड़ से इस बीमारी को उखाड़ना है। जैसे कैन्सर है उसी तरह से हमारी अर्थव्यवस्था के साथ चोर बाजारी, तस्करी की एक पैरेलल इक्नामी चल रही है, उसको जड़ से उखाड़ने के लिए सरकार को सुचिन्तित ढंग से सारे लोगों से विचार-विमर्श करके ऐसी योजना बनानी चाहिए जिससे हम हमेशा के लिए जो ब्लैक मनी है उसका खात्मा हो जाये और सही ढंग से जो अर्थव्यवस्था की चोरी होती है उस पर नियंत्रण करके वह धन गरीब जनता में गरीबी रेखा के नीचे जिंदा रहने वालों में वितरित हो सके। इसी सदन में मैंने वित्त मंत्रालय से पूछा था कि कौन से लोग टैक्स नहीं दिये और उन पर क्या कार्यवाहीं की गयी उत्तर प्रदेश में? उस में दो बड़े घराने, बिजनेस मोनोपोली हाउस है इन पर क्या कार्यवाही की जायेगी यह आज तक स्पष्ट नहीं हो सका। इसलिए जो भी कर चोरी करता हुआ पाया जाये चाहे वह कितना ही बड़ा उद्योगपति हो या छोटा उद्योगपति हो उसे कत्तई एक्शन से वंचित न किया जाये। जैसे आज हमारे जजेज ने इंदिरा गांधी के हत्यारों को फांसी की सजा दी है उसी तरह से जो कर चोरी कर रहे हैं चाहे वे बड़े लोग हों या छोटे लोग उन पर उसी कड़ाई के साथ हमें कार्यवाही करनी होगी तब जाकर हमारी अर्थव्यवस्था में जो हमारा धन टैक्स के रूप में हमें मिलना चाहिए था, मिलता नहीं है उसे ले करके हम उसके द्वारा गरीबों का हितचिन्तन कर सकते हैं। छोटे-छोटे किसान, गरीब गरीब अगर हजार रुपया बैंक से कर्ज लेते हैं तो मैंने देखा है चूंकि में गांव का रहने वाला हूं कि वहां पर कुर्की, नीलामी पहूंच जाती है और खटिया उठा करके फेंक दी जाती है, बर्तन फेंक दिये जाते हैं, हथकड़ी लगाकर हमारे किसान को जेल भेज दिया जाता है। तो करोड़ों रुपये इस देश का टैक्स जिनके ऊपर जायज़ बकाया है सरकार का, वह बचा लेते हैं और सफेदपोश बन कर, सभ्य बन कर समाज में घूमते हैं। ऐसे लोग समाज में कामचोर, दामचोर और नामचोर हैं। ऐसे लोगों को सरकार को छोड़ना नहीं चाहिए। तब जाकर हमारी आर्थिक व्यवस्था में क्रांतिकारी सुधार होंगे।

बिजली, कोयला, ईंधन, सड़क, सिंचाई, पानी, मूल समस्याएं हैं और इस क्षेत्र में जितना काम हो रहा है, पहले कभी नहीं हुआ था। हमारे अधिकांश औद्योगिक उत्पादन का अंश इन्हीं योजनाओं पर जनता तक पहुंचाने के लिए लगाया जा रहा है, लेकिन हमने कार, ट्रक नित्य नये-नये आंकड़ों में प्रोड्यूस कर दिया, उत्पादन कर दिया, नये-नये कारखाने बनते जा रहे हैं। लेकिन क्या हमने प्लानिंग की कि कहां किस तरह से

[श्री रत्नाकर पाण्डेय]

सड़कें उनके उपयोग के लिए बनेंगी ? एक तो हमारी प्लानिंग में जो समवन्य की कमी है, उसको भी दूर किया जाए जिससे कि जो उत्पादन हम दें, उस उत्पादन का सही ढंग से उपयोग हो। नहीं तो आते-आते कुछ वर्षों में ऐसा होगा कि सड़कों पर बस, ट्रकें, और मोटरें खड़ी रह जाएंगी, चलने की जगह नहीं मिलेगी जिस तरह से उत्पादन कर रहे हैं और उनका सही ढंग से किस रूप में उनका उपयोग किया जाए, हम नहीं कर पा रहे हैं।

सार्वजनिक प्रतिष्ठानों में बहुत से भ्रष्टाचारी अधिकारी हैं, जो कुछ हैं, परन्तु बदनाम पूरा प्रतिष्ठान हो रहा है, पूरा उद्योग हो रहा है। जो इस तरह का काम करते हैं, जो जुर्म करते हैं, धन का जिस ईकाई में, जिस उद्योग में उपयोग होना चाहिए, उस धन का सही उपयोग नहीं करते हैं, ऐसे लोगों को कड़ी से कड़ी सजा देनी चाहिए।

बैंक ऋण देते हैं और हर जगह लीड बैंक बनाये गये हैं। हमारे बैंकिंग के प्रभारी मंत्री जी बैठे हुए हैं, लीड बैंकों के माध्यम से जो धन गरीबों तक पहुंचता है, एक तो अशिक्षित होने के नाते वह भैंस खरीदने के लिए रुपया लेता है, तो जो सफेदपोश, सामाजिक, कार्यकर्ता हैं, कुछ, मैं सबकी बात नहीं कर रहा हूं, वह भैंस के नाम पर उसका अंगूठा लगवा लेते हैं और बैंक से लोन ले लेता है। उसे मालूम भी नहीं होता कि भैंस के नाम पर लोन ले लिया है। जब उसकी वसूली के लिए लोग पहुंचते हैं, तब उसे ज्ञात होता है कि मेरे नाम पर लोन ले लिया गया है। इस तरह जो बैंक के अधिकारी हैं या जो बीच में दलाल हैं, वह खत्म होने चाहिएं। हमारे गांवो की जमीन जो है' गांव सभाओं की ही ठीक से वितरित नहीं होती है। (समय की घंटी)

मैडम, मैं मेन प्वाइंट पर ही आ रहा हूं। जो मजबूत लोग हैं, लाठीबाज लोग हैं, हरिजनों की जमीन निकाली जाती है अल्पसंख्यकों की जमीन निकाली जाती हैं, स्कूल की जमीन निकाली जाती है, अस्पताल की जमीन निकाली जाती है, उस पर कब्जा कर लेते हैं, खेती करवाते हैं और न थाने में उस गरीब की सुनवाई होती है, न कचहरी में सुनवाई होती है, बल्कि उलटा उसे जेल भेज दिया जाता है।

इस तरह की डिसपैरिटी, इस तरह का विभेद तब दूर होगा जब कड़े से कड़ा आतंक हो प्रशासन का, और वह प्रशासन का आतंक इस तरह से नहीं चलेगा कि प्रांतीय सरकार का दायित्व है या केन्द्र सरकार का दायित्व है, राष्ट्र का दायित्व है और जो जनता है, वह राष्ट्रीयता में विश्वास करती है। उस जनता के लिए कठोर से कठोर जो उसकी लहलहाती हुई खेती पर कब्ज़ा करते हैं, या उसकी धन और धरती का हरण करते हैं, वह समाज के शोषक हैं और जब तक इन समाज के शोषकों को बेनकाब नहीं किया जाएगा—हमारे प्रधान मंत्री ने समाज के इन दलालों को बेनकाब करने का संकल्प लिया है और करके उन्होंने दिखाया है। आज जितने भी सामाजिक क्षेत्र में कार्य करने वाले लोग हैं, सब का यह दायित्व हो जाता है, किसी भी क्षेत्र से हों ... उद्योग के क्षेत्र में हो, शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में हो, कला के क्षेत्र में हो, चाहे अन्य क्षेत्रों में हो, जो सत्ता की दलाली करने वाले हैं उनको खुले आम बेनकाब किया जाए और जो वास्तविक कर चोरी कर रहे हैं उन्हें कड़ी से कड़ी सजा दी जाए। आपस में कोआर्डीनेशन की कमी है। अब ओबरा की घटना मैं बता रहा हूं। कोयला मंत्रालय कहता है कि मैंने जो कोयला दिया वह सही क्वालिटी का था और ओबरा के बिजली विभाग के लोग कहते हैं कि वह कोयला जो आपने दिया वह लो क्वालिटी का था इसलिए हम प्रोडक्शन जितना देना चाहते थे वह नहीं दे पाए। आज तक समन्वय नहीं हो पा रहा है कि किसकी गलती है। वे एक-दूसरे पर आरोपित करते हैं। इसलिए सरकार को चाहिए कि वह अर्थ व्यवस्था को सुदृढ़ करने के लिए विकसित करने के लिए दायित्व निर्धारण का काम करे, एकाउंटेबिलिटी तय करे और अगर कोई आदमी उस एकाउंटेबिलिटी के अनरूप नहीं निकलता है तो वह उसको हटा दे।

इस देश में विद्वानों की, योग्य व्यक्तियों की, योग्य प्रशासकों की और टैक्नोक्रेट्स की कोई कमी नहीं है। हमारे विद्वान लोग सारी दुनिया में फैले हुए हैं। अच्छी से अच्छी प्रतिभाएं और व्यक्तित्व मिल सकते हैं। इसलिए अर्थ व्यवस्था में निश्चित रूप से ऐसे कार्य होने चाहिएं जिससे हम सचमुच गरीबों तक पहुंच सकें। हमारे पास बड़ी-बड़ी योजनाएं हैं। ग्रामीण विकास मंत्रालय की योजना है जो कि गरीबी की रेखा के नीचे जिंदा हैं उनके हम हर परिवार को काम देंगे।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्रीमती कनक मुखर्जी) : आपके 15 मिनट तो हो चुके हैं।

डा० रत्नाकर पाण्डेय : दो मिनट और मैडम। लेकिन मेरे जिले वाराणसी में जो मधुर, मनोहर, अतीव सुन्दर और सर्व विद्या की राजधानी है जहां ज्ञान की उपासना होती है जहां मृत्यु की कामना ले करके लोग जाते हैं वहां उस जिले की हालत मैं बता रहा हूं कि गरीबी की रेखा से नीचे जिंदा रहने वाले किसी व्यक्ति को काम नहीं मिला है, जिस तरह की मेरी जानकारी है। इस तरह की चीजें जब हम योजनाओं में रखते हैं तो उनका इंप्लीमेंटेशन भी सही ढंग से होना चाहिए। इसकी रिस-पांसिबिलिटी, एकाउंटेबिलिटी और दायित्व तय होना चाहिए। अगर उस दायित्व की पूर्ति नहीं होती है, तो उस व्यक्ति को कड़ी से कड़ी सजा देनी चाहिए। इन शब्दों के साथ, भाग्य लिपि पढ़ने से अर्थ व्यवस्था नहीं बदलेगी। हमारे राष्ट्र कवि और इस सदन के सदस्य दिनकर जी ने कहा था कि :

"ब्रह्मा का अभिलेख पढ़ा करते
निरुद्यमी प्राणी ;
धोते वीर कुअंक भाल का बहा भ्रवों
से पानी।"

देश की अर्थ व्यवस्था को सुधारने के लिए उसको वास्तविक रूप से जन-जन तक पहुं-चाने के लिए, राजीव गांधी के शासन की उपलब्धियों को गरीबी की रेखा के नीचे रहने वाले प्राणियों तक पहुंचाने के लिए हमें श्रम करना होगा और "श्रमेव जयते" जो हमारा नारा है उस नारे की सिद्धि करनी होगी।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं अपना वक्तव्य समाप्त करना चाहता हूं। धन्यवाद।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI KANAK MUKHERJEE): Shri Keshav-prasad Shukla.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: Madam, I think that the arrangement was that one Member from that side and one from this side will speak. The Minister for Parliamentary Affairs agreed to that. Now, our turn will come. (*Interruptions*)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI KANAK MUKHERJEE): One round has been completed. Your name is there.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: That is very strange. That is not the question. (*Interruptions*) One from that side spoke. Now the turn will come on this side.

SHRI P.N. SUKUL (Uttar Pradesh): It is the discretion of the Chair.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI KANAK MUKHERJEE): Mr. Shukla.

श्री केशव प्रसाद शुक्ल (मध्य प्रदेश) : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदया, मैं आर्थिक स्थिति के संबंध में वित्त मंत्री महोदय द्वारा प्रस्तुत इस वक्तव्य के सम्बन्ध में अपने विचार व्यक्त करने से पहले उनको धन्यवाद देता हूं कि उन्होंने सबसे पहले आगामी बजट के लिए जो अनुमानित व्यय और लेखाजोखा है, उसको सदन के सामने प्रस्तुत किया है। यह अच्छी शुरूआत है। इसलिए मैं उनको धन्यवाद देता हूं।

महोदया, मैं भारत वर्ष की आर्थिक स्थिति और आर्थिक व्यवस्था के सम्बन्ध में अपने विचार व्यक्त करने से पहले

[श्री केशव प्रसाद शुक्ल]

अपने उस महान नेता जवाहर लाल नेहरू जी का कृतज्ञता के साथ स्मरण करूंगा जिन्होंने हमारे देश को योजनाबद्ध तरीके से आर्थिक विकास की दिशा में एक रास्ता दिया और जिन्होंने समाजवादी तरीके से प्रजातंत्रिक तरीके से देश को आर्थिक समाजवाद के रास्ते पर आगे बढ़ाया। अपनी महान नेता श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी जी का भी स्मरण इस अवसर पर करना चाहूंगा, जिन्होंने गरीबी हटाने के लिए बीस सूत्री कार्यक्रम की योजना बनाई और देश के गरीबों की गरीबी दूर करने के लिये प्रयत्न किया प्रगति के रास्ते पर देश को आगे बढ़ाया और विकास के रास्ते पर उनके मार्गदर्शन में हमारा देश आगे बढ़ा। इसके लिए मैं उनका धन्यवाद करता हूं। इसके बाद मैं अपने युवा नेता श्री राजीव गांधी को भी हार्दिक बधाई देता हूं जिनके मार्गदर्शन में उनकी सरकार और वित्त मंत्री महोदय हमारे देश को आर्थिक विकास के रास्ते पर आगे बढ़ाकर एक आत्म-निर्भर स्वावलंबी भारत की कल्पना करके उसे इक्कीसवीं सदी में ले जाना चाहते हैं।

महोदया यह जो वक्तव्य दिया गया है इसमें जो आंकड़े दिये गये हैं वे बड़े उत्साहवर्धक हैं और इससे यह मालूम होता है कि हमारे राजीव गांधी जी के नेतृत्व में हमारी सरकार देश को आर्थिक विकास के रास्ते पर आगे ले जाकर के विश्व के उन बड़े देशों की श्रेणी में ले जाने के लिए कटिबद्ध है। उनके इस संकल्प को पूरा करने के लिए हमारी गवर्नमेंट कृतसंकल्प है। इस सम्बन्ध में मैं सबसे पहले इस बात का जिक्र करना चाहता हूं कि हमारा देश गांवों का देश है हमारे यहां सात लाख गांव हैं और जिसमें 70 प्रतिशत आबादी खेती पर निर्भर करती है। जो योजनाएं हमारी बनें वह खेती के लिए किसानों के लिए हितकारी हों। लेकिन जो अभी योजनाएं बन रही हैं उनमें ज्यादातर किसानों के लिए उपयोगी योजना नहीं हैं। इसके संबंध में मैं कुछ प्रकाश डालना चाहता हूं। खेती के लिए सबसे ज्यादा जरूरी सिंचाई का साधन है। सिंचाई के लिए हमारे यहां जो योजना बनी हैं वह बड़ी-बड़ी योजनाएं बनी हैं और जो बड़ी-बड़ी योजनाएं बनती हैं उनमें धन का अपव्यय होता है। इसकी ओर मैं आपका ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहता हूं। हमारे यहां पहली पंचवर्षीय योजना या द्वितीय पंचवर्षीय योजना में भाखड़ा-नांगल बांध बना हीराकुण्ड बांध बना नागार्जुन बांध बना, लेकिन उसके बाद कोई नया बांध नहीं बन रहा है। इसका क्या कारण है? इसका कारण यही है कि जो हमारा अधिकारी वर्ग है जो इंजीनियर्स हैं जो टेक्नीशियन्स हैं ऐसे बने हुए हैं कि योजना को कामधेनु बनाकर उसका दोहन कर रहे हैं और उसको लम्बायमान करते जा रहे हैं।

महोदया हमारे यहां एक योजना बनी थी रीवा संभाग की सिंचाई के लिए सोन नदी पर बाणसागर बांध बनाने की योजना थी। इस योजना का शिलान्यास सन् 1978 में जब देसाई साहब ने किया उस समय यह था कि यह योजना सन् 1985 में कार्यान्वित हो जाएगी, पूर्ण हो जाएगी। लेकिन यह योजना आगे बढ़ती चली जा रही है। इस योजना में 230 करोड़ की लागत लगने वाली थी और अभी जो आंकलन दिया गया है उसके अनुसार चार सौ करोड़ से ऊपर लगने वाला है और यह योजना सन् 1995 तक जाकर पूरी होगी। बांध बनकर तैयार होगा या नहीं होगा इसमें संदेह है। तो इस तरह की बड़ी-बड़ी योजनाओं को इकट्ठा न लेकर एक-एक योजना को लिया जाना चाहिए। इसके साथ ही मेरा सुझाव है कि इन योजनाओं को राज्यों को न देकर केन्द्र शासन अपने हाथ में ले तभी जाकर यह पूर्ण होंगी अन्यथा यह लंबायमान होती जायगी और हमारे जो उच्चाधिकारी हैं वे फलते-फूलते रहेंगे

और इससे योजनाएं आगे बढ़ती रहेंगी उनका विकास हो जायेगा लेकिन ग्रामीण जनता का विकास नहीं होगा। इसलिए मैं वित्तमंत्री महोदय का ध्यान इस ओर आकर्षित करना चाहूंगा।

महोदया, इसके अतिरिक्त मध्यम और छोटी सिंचाई योजनाओं की ओर भी ज्यादा ध्यान देना जरुरी है। बड़ी योजनाओं में धन का अपव्यय होता है। छोटी योजनाओं को प्रश्रय देना चाहिए उसको प्राथमिकता देनी चाहिए। इसके अलावा जो भूमिगत जल है उसको तलाश करके नलकूपों के जरिए सिंचाई के लिए किसानों को दिया जाना चाहिए। ये योजनाएं ऐसी हैं जिनसे ग्रामीण अर्थव्यवस्था सुधरेगी। अन्यथा आज की अर्थव्यवस्था से तो गांव के लोग गरीब होते जा रहे हैं। उनको अपनी उपज का उचित मूल्य नहीं मिल पा रहा है। वे सस्ते दाम पर गल्ला बेचते हैं। इस ओर ध्यान देना होगा। जो सीमान्त किसान हैं लघु किसान है जब उनकी फसल पक कर आती है तो उनको विवश होकर सस्ते दाम पर अनाज को बेचना पड़ता है। इसके लिए योजना बनानी होगी कि किसान अपना अनाज कृषि उपज मंडियों में ले आएं जहां उनको उचित पैसा देकर अनाज खरीद लिया जाये और बाद में समुचित दाम पर बेचा जाय। इस तरह की योजनाएं बनानी चाहिए जिससे गरीब किसान अपने उत्पादन का उचित मूल्य पा सके। इसके साथ ही उपभोक्ताओं को भी लूटा जाता है। जो बीच के लोग हैं वह फल-फूल रहे हैं। एसी योजना बनाएं कि जो बीच के लोग हैं जो किसानों का शोषण करते हैं और उपभोक्ताओं का शोषण करते हैं वह खत्म हों। सरकार खुद ऐसी एजेंसी बनाए जो कृषि उत्पादन को खरीदे और उपभोक्ताओं को सस्ते मूल्य पर दे जिससे दोनों का शोषण रुके। यह आर्थिक व्यवस्था के लिए उपयोगी होगा। इससे ग्रामीण अर्थ-व्यवस्था सुधर जायगी। अभी जो बीस सूत्री कार्यक्रम के अन्तर्गत योजनाएं हैं उनका लाभ गरीब आदमी तक नहीं पहुंच पाता। बीच में बैंकों के द्वारा कितनी अड़चनें लगाई जाती हैं। मैं अपने रीवा जिले की जानता हूं। ग्रामीण विकास प्राधिकरण के यहां 50 लाख रुपए लैप्स हो गए क्योंकि वह रुपया बांटना नहीं चाहते थे। गरीब आदमी पैसा नहीं देता, इसलिए वह रुपया नहीं दिया गया और वह लेप्स हो गया। यह कैसे लेप्स हो गया? इसके लिए जो अधिकारी उत्तरदायी हों उनके खिलाफ कठोर कार्यवाही करनी होगी। मैंने सुना था कि पुजारी जी किसानों के प्रति उदार हैं। मैंने उनको चिट्ठी भी लिखी थी। जिसको लोन नहीं दिया गया मैंने खुद जाकर सर्टिफाइ किया था, वह गरीबी की रेखा के नीचे रहने वाला एक आर्टीजन, बढ़ईगीरी करने वाला आरा मशीन लगाना चाहता था। पहले तो कहा कि जंगल के पास आरा मशीन नहीं लगाई जा सकती, 20 किलो-मीटर की दूरी पर लगाई जा सकती है। उस आरा मशीन के लिए उद्योग विभाग ने तो स्वीकृत किया, लेकिन बैंक ने कर्जा नहीं दिया। दूसरे आदमी को कर्जा दे दिया गया क्योंकि उसने कर्मचारियों को पैसा दे दिया था। उसकी यह चाल थी कि दूसरी मशीन न लगे, नहीं तो कम्पीटीशन हो जायगा। इसके चक्कर में आ गए। मैंने शिकायत की तो आपने जो अधिकारियों के द्वारा टीप आई वही हमको दे दी कि कुछ कारण ऐसे थे जिसकी वजह से नहीं मिल सकता था। मैं कहना चाहता हूं...

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE (SHRI JANARDHAN POOJARI): If the hon. Member come to my office on Monday, I will personally look into that once again.

SHRI KESHAVPRASAD SHUKLA: I have asked the person to bring all the papers.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE: May I also come to your office on Mon-day? I have also so many complaints.

SHRI JANARDHAN POOJARI: Yes, you are welcome.

श्री केशव प्रसाद शुक्ल: इस तरह जो गरीबी हटाने के कार्यक्रम हैं उनका ठीक से कार्यान्वयन नहीं होता जिससे गरीब लोगों की गरीबी दूर नहीं हो रही

[केशव प्रसाद शुक्ल]

है। इसकी तरफ ध्यान देना होगा। गरीबी हटाने के लिए सबसे पहले जरूरी है कि लोगों में एक मानसिकता पैदा की जाये।

तीसरी बात है कि हमारी बढ़ती हुई आबादी को रोकने के लिए ऐसी योजनाएं बनानी होंगी जिससे बढ़ती हुई आबादी पर अंकुश लगे। अगर हम इस पर अंकुश नहीं लगाते तो आप कितनी ही योजनायें बनाते जायें विकास के रास्ते पर देश नहीं बढ़ सकेगा। योजनायें जो बनती हैं वे पूरी नहीं हो पातीं।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्रीमती कनक मुखर्जी): आप खतम करिये। 10 मिनट आप के हो गये हैं।

श्री केशव प्रसाद शुक्ल: हमारे विकास में अवरोध डालने वाले तीन तत्व हैं–भ्रष्ट मुलाजिम, भ्रष्ट राजनीतिक नेता और भ्रष्ट व्यापारी या उद्योगपति। इन तीनों ने मिल कर हमारे देश के विकास मार्ग को अवरुद्ध कर रखा है और मैं अपने वित्त मंत्री जी को और वित्त विभाग को बधाई देना चाहता हूं कि उन्होंने कुछ कदम उठाये हैं। लेकिन वे पर्याप्त नहीं हैं। मैं आप से आग्रह करूंगा कि आप कठोरतापूर्वक उन को आगे बढ़ाइये और ऐसे आदमियों का कालाधन जब्त कर लीजिए जिन्होंने उस को जमा किया है। यह नहीं होना चाहिए कि कालेधन पर आप टेक्स ले कर उस को छोड़ दें। आप उसे पूरा का पूरा जब्त कर लीजिए। जिला स्तर पर देखिये। यदि कोई अधिकारी अपनी तनख्वाह से ज्यादा हैसियत रखता है उस के पास ज्यादा जायदाद है तो उसे जब्त कर लीजिए। एक इंजीनियर बड़ी नहरें बनवा रहा है और उस के पास बड़ी संपत्ति है तो उस के पास वह सुख सुविधा का सामान कहां से आता है। वह आप का ही रुपया खा रहा है। वह भ्रष्ट मुलाजिम है और देश की अर्थ व्यवस्था को चौपट कर रहा है। उस के खिलाफ आप को सख्त कदम उठाना होगा। आज ऐंटी करप्शन ऐक्ट बना हुआ है। अपने मीन्स से ज्यादा जिस को आमदनी हो, जायदाद हो उन को आप बंद कर सकते हैं। उस की जायदाद को जब्त कर सकते हैं और उस मुलजिम को ही सफाई देनी होगी कि वह संपत्ति उस के पास कहां से आयी है। ऐसे कानूनों का पालन नहीं किया जाता है और ठीक से उन को लागू नहीं किया जाता है। इसीलिए हमारी अर्थ व्यवस्था में बहुत धीमी गति से सुधार हो रहा है, कछुए की चाल से सुधार हो रहा है। यद्यपि सरकार ने कदम उठाये हैं लेकिन हमारी नीतियां अच्छी होते हुए भी उन का कार्यान्वयन नहीं हो पा रहा है। इस दिशा में आप को सही कदम उठाना होगा। इन शब्दों के साथ मैं इस का समर्थन करता हूं और आप को धन्यवाद देता हूं कि आप ने मुझे समय दिया।

SHRI GHULAM RASOOL MATTO (Jammu and Kashmir): Madam, Vice-Chairman, I will request the hon. Minister to pay heed to what I say because I have to make certain suggestions which may kindly be noted.

Madam, I congratulate the Finance Minister for his open policy. I beg to think, that the projections of resources for the Central Plan as he presented yesterday, if there is an analyst who is an econommist also, he can very well understand what the taxation proposals could be during the next Budget. This is a very good thing because every one must be involved in the Budget-making and the taxation proposals and the country's economy.

Madam, I have got the Annual Plan for 1986-87 and in that the projections of the economy or the actuals for the economy for the year 1985-86 have been given. I wish to congratulate the Minister that there are many good points which we have achieved in those years. For instance the industrial production rose by 6.2 per cent. Gross domestic product in real terms has come to 4.5 per cent, compared to 3.4 per cent in 1984-85. Rice

production is 63.7 million tonnes, the record ever, when the earlier peak was 60.1 million tonnes. However, coarse grain have fallen to 26.7 million tonnes against 31.2 million tonnes in earlier years.

However, I find that the Minister has stated that the oilseeds production is lower by 14.5 per cent, but actually it is a little different. I have access to another official document of the Government of India which gives me the figures that against the target of 13.6 million tonnes, we have achieved only 11.2 million tonnes in oilseeds. That means, there is a shortfall of 17.8 per cent, and not 14.5 per cent as mentioned in the document. I would like the Minister to let me know what is the correct position.

Here I have to make certain proposals. The Minister of State for Agriculture, Mr. Makwana, told the other day in this House in reply to a question that we will reach self-sufficiency in oilseeds in two years' time. While actually, according to the paper mentioned above, in the second year of the Seventh Plan, we have a shortfall of 17.8 per cent, how is it possible, according to him, to achieve self-sufficiency? I think either he has no co-ordination with the Finance and Planning Ministry or he should tell us how and on what basis he says that we will be self-sufficient in oilseeds. In the case of all other agricultural products like wheat, rice and other things while we have achieved self-sufficiency, we are lagging behind in oilseeds which is a fundamental thing and which is a drain on our foreign exchange resources. I would request the hon. Minister to tell us how he has arrived at these figures.

Similarly, in crude oil and petroleum products, we have achieved good success, and buoyancy in the capital market can be seen from the fact that approvals for capital issues, including bonus issues by companies, increased from about Rs. 2003 crores in 1984-85 to Rs. 3694 crores in 1985-86 It is a good achievement and this shows buoyancy in our capital market and industrial growth. Increase in industrial production is also in the order of 16.2 per cent. However, there is another area which is of a little concern to me. Here again, there is a difference in the figures given in the Annual Plan and the figures supplied to me by another official agency. It is stated that under preliminary data on foreign trade for 1985-86, there is a trade deficit of Rs. 7951 crores, which increased from Rs. 5107 crores in 1984-85. But the figure supplied to me shows that the deficit is Rs. 8616 crores. Madam, this document was received by me much earlier than the Annual Plan. The Annual Plan was laid on the Table of the House only a few days back and whereas I got other document about a month back...

SHRI JAGESH DESAI: That must be provisional figure.

SHRI GHULAM RASOOL MATTO: This is not provisional; this is actual. Anyway, then it shows that imports have increased by 11 per cent whereas this document shows that imports have increased by 14 per cent. Similarly, for exports it says that exports have declined by 8 per cent, whereas a different figure is given in the other document. In any case, I have now to say about the difficult areas which, to my mind are causing concern. Then, in regard to the Plan outlay expenditure, I would like the hon. Minister to note that in 1984-85, the expenditure in the Central sector was 96 per cent of the Budget estimate. But in 1985-86, this jumped to 108 per cent. In the case of the States, for 1984-85, it was 103 per cent and for 1985-86 also it was 103 per cent. Therefore, there has been no increase in the case of the States. But in the case of the Central sector, it jumped from 96 to 108 per cent, on the non-Plan side.

5 P.M.

[The Vice-Chairman (Shri H. Hanumanthappa) in the Chair]

The other point which I find from these projections is that, there is an increase of Rs. 7,288 crores between the Budget estimates for 1986-87 and the projections for 1987-88. Simultaneously, the non-Plan expenditure has also increased by about Rs. 7,000 crores. Therefore,

[Shri Ghulam Rasool Matto]

whatever additional income we have generated during this year or which is projected for 1987-88 is being eaten away by the increase in the non-plan expenditure. Whatever increase is there in the estimated receipts is offset by the increase in the non-plan expenditure.

SHRI JAGESH DESAI: It is Rs. 10,000 crores.

SHRI GHULAM RASOOL MATTO: This is the actual figure I have.

Now, in regard to rural development projects, the percentage is 64.5 in the Central sector whereas in the case of the States, it is only 34 odd per cent. It should have been the reverse. It should have been 64.5 in the case of the States and it should have been less in the case of the Central sector.

I now come to the energy sector. The Seventh Plan target is 22,245 MW. The target for 1986-87 is 3396 MW. (*Time-bell rings*) I suggest that the Government should think of foreign participation in the energy sector. This is very important because we will not be able to reach the target of 22,245 MW if we are not able to complete the projects. This will have a bearing on the Eighth Plan also. In this connection, I would like to point out that the power projects included in the Eighth Plan would yield an extra capacity of not more than 15,748 MW in the Eighth Plan as against the previous Plan target of 33,000 MW. Therefore, I would very much request the Government of India to think about foreign collaborations and foreign assistance in the energy sector.

The question has been raised about raising of additional resources. The Central outlay is Rs. 95,534 crores at 1984-85 price level and the outlay for the first two years is Rs. 42,394 crores. Mr. Vice-Chairman, I have a few suggestions to make here. Non-viable loss-making units in the public sector should be closed. Then, there has to be a rethinking on the open general licence policy if we have to cut down on imports. Even in regard to the industrial raw materials and other things, it is very essential that we have a regulated import policy. The era of open general licence scheme should end. We cannot afford it. Even during this year, we have a shortfall of 17 per cent in exports. Therefore, it is very essential that we should cut down on imports. For that purpose the OGL should be scrapped. Even with regard to industrial raw materials licensing should be introduced. With regard to the exparts also it is essential that whatever licences are given to them they should fetch them more money so that they could reduce the cost. I will give you an instance. When in 1974 I was in Bahrain I saw a shawl, the price of which was quoted at Rs.58, whereas in Srinagar it was being sold at Rs.65. I asked the man as to what his cost price was and he said that he had purchased it at Rs. 52 from Kashmir. He gave the name of the manufacturer, whom I knew. When I came back, I asked him how he could arrive at that cost. He told me that he is having an export licence for industrial raw material and the premium enjoyed on that licence is very high. So, he could cut the price to that extent. Therefore, what I want to say is, because of OGL and other policies foreign exchange worth about Rs. 3000 crores is wasted and the premium is not more than 2 per cent or so. If we do away with the OGL and have licensing, we will have two-fold benefit. Firstly, we would cut down on our imports. Secondly, the exporter will be able to fetch more money on the licences that they get and as a result of this they will reduce the cost and export at a cheaper price. This is a very important thing that has to be taken into consideration.

The second grey area in my mind is the coking coal. I think the indigenous capacity should be increased to such an extent that the import is reduced. We cannot afford imports. Vizag steel plant is expected to be commissioned in 1988-89. There also we need this coking coal. This area should also be attended to.

The third thing which may be a bitter pill is with regard to subsidies. I am giving these suggestions so that the hon. Finance Minister could take them into consideration while raising additional resources. Subsidies have eaten away a lot of our money. I request that there should

be a 10 per cent decrease every year in the subsidies. Suppose, we are giving rupee one as a subsidy for a certain thing. It should be reduced by 10 per cent in the next year and gradually it should be reduced to nil. Do not think in terms of increasing the subsidy.

The third suggestion is with regard to sickness in industries. There are many reasons for the sickness of units both in private and public sectors, but as far as private sector is concerned there is a lot of sickness. This sickness is occasioned only because there is no modernisation. Here I have a dose to give, a suggestion to make. The Government of India is giving depreciation benefit on machinery. The Government is fully aware that a particular machine will last for 10 years. So, every year they give you 10 per cent depreciation benefit. My suggestion would be that his depreciation should only be allowed if it is shown in the balance sheet as a reserve for modernisation. What happens today is, these capitalists and others eat away this depreciation benefit. So, the depreciation benefit should only be given by the Government when this money is kept reserved for modernisation or replacement. When the life of the machinery is going it is very vital that you considered that this allowance for depreciation is given only if it is kept in reserve in the balance-sheet; if it is not kept as reserve in the balance-sheet, it should be taxed. Secondly, it should not be on written down value; it should be 10 per cent on actual value.

My last point is what I had stated the other day also and I take this opportunity again to state it—*i.e.* to reserve imbalance in public sector investment. In reply to my Unstarred Question No. 1858 dated 24-11-86, the Minister of Industry said that out of the total investment on Central public sector enterprises as on 31-3-85 of Rs. 47323 crores, J&K is getting only 48.28 crores. Not only this—and this is the tragedy, may be it is a legacy—our fate has been sealed for the Seventh Plan. I had asked what provision you had made for the remainder of the Seventh Plan, and the reply was that for the entire Seventh Plan, an outlay of measly sum of Rs. 3.75 crores in some Central Minerals project has been provided. So our fate has been sealed even for the Seventh Plan. So I would request the Government of India that the imbalance should be rectified and we should be given our due share.

Then my last point, Sir, is, that in reply to another question, you had been pleased to state that the bank credit deposit ratio in March, 1986 in J&K is only 41.59 per cent. This is too much lesser than the national average of 67.7 per cent. I think it is within your power to issue directions to the nationalsed banks and other non-scheduled banks and non-nationalised banks also, that they should increase this ratio because in the case of other States—e.g. in the case of Chandigarh for instance it is 174 per cent, in regard to Karnataka it is about 88 per cent, in regard to other States it is about 74 to 80 per cent—but in regard to Jammu and Kashmir it is only 41.59 per cent, because the nationalised banks and other banks are very strict about giving loans to enterpreneurs there. This may kindly be looked into. With these observations, I conclude.

डा० रुद्र प्रताप सिंह (उत्तर प्रदेश) : आदरणीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय आपका मैं हृदय से आभारी हूं जो आपने मुझे आर्थिक स्थिति पर हो रही चर्चा में भाग लेने का अवसर प्रदान किया। मैं उसका समर्थन करने के लिये खड़ा हुआ हूं। समय के संबंध में मुझे कुछ कहने की आवश्यकता नहीं है क्योंकि मान्यवर, आप स्वयं अत्यन्त उदार हैं।

सर्वप्रथम मैं भारत के प्रधान मंत्री परम आदरणीय राजीव गांधी जी को हृदय से बधाई देना चाहता हूं जो उन्होंने भारत के प्रधानमंत्री पद का कार्यभार ग्रहण करते ही देश की आर्थिक स्थिति में सुधार लाने का विशेष प्रयास किया है। प्रधानमंत्री के रूप में उनके कार्यकाल में निश्चित रूप से देश की आर्थिक स्थिति में उल्लेखनीय सुधार हुआ है। श्रीमन्, प्रधानमंत्री जी की भावना तथा आकांक्षा के अनुरूप देश की आर्थिक स्थिति में क्रान्तिकारी सुधार लाने का श्रेय हमारे चरित्रवान तथा विद्वान

[डा० रुद्र प्रताप सिंह]

वित्त मंत्री माननीय विश्वनाथ प्रताप सिंह जी को है, जिनकी ईमानदारी संदेह से परे है। मैं उन्हें भी हृदय से बधाई देना चाहता हूं। साथ ही उनके सहयोगी राज्य मंत्री माननीय पुजारी जी को बधाई देना चाहूंगा जो वे अत्यन्त निष्ठा, परिश्रम और कार्यकुशलतापूर्वक वित्त मंत्रालय में अपनी सेवायें दे रहे हैं।

मान्यवर, माननीय सदन इस बात से सहमत होगा कि सरकार ने आर्थिक वृद्धि की गति को बनाये रखा है तथा केन्द्रीय आयोजन के लक्ष्य के वित्त पोषण में वह समर्थ रही है। अर्थ व्यवस्था में आधारभूत ढांचे का कार्य बहुत अच्छा चल रहा है। कीमतों की स्थिति नियंत्रण में है। कर राजस्व विशेषतौर पर व्यक्तिगत आय-कर राजस्व में उल्लेखनीय वृद्धि जारी है। विद्युत सयंत्रों ने अधिक उत्पादन किया है और रेल भाड़े के राजस्व में वृद्धि हुई है। साथ ही कच्चे पैट्रोलियम तथा कोयले के उत्पादन में वृद्धि हुई है। विश्व की तुलना में भारत में मुद्रास्फीति कम हुई है। भारत आत्मनिर्भरता की दिशा में तीव्रता के साथ अग्रसर हो रहा है। इन सारे कार्यों के लिए मैं सरकार की प्रशंसा करना चाहूंगा। राजकोषीय क्षेत्र में कर राजस्व में लगातार वृद्धि कर सम्बन्धी नीति में दूरदर्शी सुधारों को प्रमाणित करती है। जो सरकार ने 20 मास के कार्यकाल में किया है इन सुधारों का मुख्य उद्देश्य कर सम्बन्धी ढांचे को बदलना है। उचित दरों पर कर लगाने की ओर पग बढ़ाना, स्वच्छ तथा कुशल प्रशासन एवं अनुपालन में सुधार करना तथा राजस्व में वृद्धि करना एक स्थिर और प्रतिपादित कर नीति सम्बन्धी वातावरण का निर्माण करना तथा कर ढांचे के विकास को तथा समानता की दिशा में अधिक प्रेरक बनाना है। इस बात से समग्र रूप में आय कर संग्रह में अप्रत्याशित रूप में वृद्धि हो रही है। मैं इन तमाम बातों के लिए माननीय वित्त मंत्री जी को तथा राज्य मंत्री जी को हृदय से बधाई देना चाहता हूं। श्रीमन्, मुझे इस बात की प्रसन्नता है कि केन्द्रीय आयोजना में अनुसूचित जाति और अनुसूचित जनजाति, निर्धन वर्ग, निर्बल वर्ग, महिला वर्ग, युवक वर्ग, कृषक वर्ग और श्रमिक वर्ग इन सभी वर्गों की आर्थिक स्थिति में सुधार लाने का जो लक्ष्य निर्धारित किया गया है उसको प्राप्त करने के हेतु वित्तीय पोषण की ओर सरकार कृतसंकल्प और कार्यरत है। मान्यवर, सरकारी क्षेत्र के उद्यमों के उत्पादन को बढ़ाने, लागत को घटाने, कार्यकुशलता को बढ़ाने तथा अनावश्यक व्यय को घटाने के लिए निष्ठापूर्वक प्रयत्नशील है। श्रीमन्, भारत एक कृषि प्रधान देश है। कृषक हमारी अर्थ-व्यवस्था और हमारी आत्म-निर्भरता नीति का केन्द्र रहा है। इस बात का इतिहास साक्षी है। मानसून की स्थिति चिंताजनक रहने पर भी उसने खाद्य भंडारों को भरा है तथा खाद्यान में देश को आत्मनिर्भर बनाने में अपना बलिदान दिया है। भारत के महान कृषकों के परिश्रम, त्याग तथा तपस्या के फलस्वरूप तथा सरकार द्वारा सिंचाई एवं उर्वरकों और अन्य पैदावार वाले बीजों की किस्मों के सम्बन्ध में किये गये प्रयासों के कारण इस वर्ष कृषि के उत्पादन में कुछ वृद्धि होने की सम्भावना है जिससे राष्ट्रीय आय में वृद्धि होना स्वाभाविक है। हमारे यहां भंडार भरे हैं, हमारे खाद्यान के मूल्यों में ह्रास होगा देश खाद्यान की दृष्टि से आत्मनिर्भर होगा परन्तु इससे कृषकों की आर्थिक स्थिति में सुधार की सम्भावना क्षीण है। माननीय सदन इस बात से सहमत होगा कि उत्पादन की वृद्धि का यह अर्थ नहीं है कि कृषकों की आर्थिक स्थिति में सुधार आया है, वास्तविकता यह है कि कृषि के कार्यों में आने वाली समस्त वस्तुओं के मूल्यों में असाधारण रूप से वृद्धि के फलस्वरूप लागत में वृद्धि हो रही है तथा लाभ घट रहा है जो अत्यंत चिंता का विषय है। मैं माननीय वित्तमंत्री जी से अनुरोध करूंगा कि कृषकों के कृषि कार्यों के उपयोग में आने वाली समस्त वस्तुओं के मूल्यों में वृद्धि जिस तरह से हो रही है उस पर नियंत्रण किये जाने की ओर विशेष रूप से ध्यान दिया जाए जिससे लागत में कमी आए कृषकों को उचित

मूल्य ही नहीं उचित लाभ भी प्राप्त हो सके और उनकी आर्थिक स्थिति में सुधार हो सके। हमारे युवा प्रधानमंत्री परमआदरणीय श्री राजीव गांधी जी को कृषकों के प्रति विशेष सहानुभूति है। इस बात को माननीय सदन और भारत की महान जनता जानती है। हमारे माननीय प्रधानमंत्री जी ने अपने दो वर्षों के कार्यकाल में कृषकों के हितों के लिए जो भी कदम उठाये हैं वह अत्यंत सराहनीय है उनकी जितनी प्रशंसा की जाए वह कम है। उन्होंने सम्पूर्ण राष्ट्र के सुदूर अंचलों में जाकर कृषकों की स्थिति का अध्ययन स्वयं किया है और उसके पश्चात उनकी समस्याओं के निराकरण के लिए अनेक पग उठाये गये हैं, वे कृषकों की आर्थिक स्थिति के सुधार के लिए दृढ़संकल्प हैं और कार्यरत हैं। साथ ही साथ उन्हीं की भावना और आकांक्षा के अनुरूप हमारी सरकार हमारे माननीय वित्त मन्त्रीगण और वित्त मंत्रालय अपना कार्य कर रहे हैं। अतएव मुझे विश्वास है कि कृषकों की इस समस्या जिसका कि मैंने उल्लेख किया कि जो कृषि के उपयोग में आने वाली वस्तुएं हैं जिनके मूल्यों में असाधारण रूप से वृद्धि हो रही है और जिसकी तुलना में कृषकों को अपने उत्पादन का जो मूल्य मिलना चाहिए, जो लाभ मिलना चाहिए वह नहीं मिल रहा है जिसके कारण उनकी आर्थिक स्थिति में जितना सुधार आना चाहिए वह नहीं आ पा रहा है, सरकार उसके बारे में जो कुछ भी कार्य कर रही है वह सराहनीय होते हुए भी अपर्याप्त है–पर विशेष ध्यान देने की कृपा की जायेगी।

मान्यवर, मैं माननीय सदन का अधिक समय नहीं लेना चाहता था। आपने बड़ी कृपा की कि घंटी बजाने में इतनी उदारता की है। आपको धन्यवाद देते हुए मैं यह कहना चाहूंगा कि हमारे आर्थिक प्रयास और हमारी योजनाएं हमारे विपक्ष के माननीय नेताओं, माननीय सदस्यों को मृग मारीचिका की तरह प्रतीत होती हैं। मैं अत्यंत विनम्रतापूर्वक उनसे यह कहना चाहूंगा कि :

> "कल यही ख्वाब हकीकत में बदल जायेंगे,
>
> आज जो ख्वाब फकत ख्वाब नजर आते हैं।"

इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ मैं माननीय वित्त मंत्री जी को और माननीय राज्य मंत्री जी को बधाई देना चाहता हूं। आपको पुनः धन्यवाद देता हूं और प्रस्तुत प्रस्ताव का संकल्प का हृदय से समर्थन करता हूं। धन्यवाद।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA): Mr. Nirmal Chatterjee:

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: Thank you, Sir.

The debate up to now was quite lively and enlightening also. Not being the Prime Minister of the country, I have not ceased to learn. Some very informative and analytical speeches have been made. One of them came from Mr. Pranab Mukherjee. The speeches barring possibly one slip which I do not intend to identify and which I leave to the Treasury Benches to identify, is a lesson for the Treasury Benches that whenever one leaves the Treasury Benches one explodes into rationality, as Mr. Pranab Mukherjee very clearly demonstrated.

Sir, I will discuss first the budgetary thing which have been mentioned partly because here is a new phenomenon as the Finance Minister. We are acquainted with the term "bureaucrat", we are acquainted with the term "technocrat" also. But he seems to represent a new species which could be called "budgetocrat". This I say partly sadly because as the Finance Minister at the Centre it should be his business, and he is a Member of the Planning Commission also to look to the interest of the entire country. Mr. Pranab Mukherjee has partly indicated that. I will give the figures which perhaps he did not have with him.

Here is the Annual Plan. The Finance Minister claims that in real terms he is

[Shri Nirmal Chatterjee]

going to achieve 40 per cent of the total Plan expenditure, and that is true. That is why I consider him to be a budgetocrat. But one must look to the interest of the whole country. In trying to achieve this at the Centre what has he done to the States? I gave the figures.

Sir, the Planning Commission says that the actual expenditure for 1985-86 for the Centre was Rs. 20,000 crores, not in real terms, but in terms of the current prices.

"And the total for States and Unions is Rs. 34,219 crores. And for 1986-87, the second year of the Plan, while the Centre's share is Rs. 22,300 crores, the total on the current prices is Rs. 39,052 crores.'

In nominal terms they together come to only forty per cent. While our Finance Minister indicates that in real terms he has achieved 40 per cent in two years for the country as a whole, it is only in nominal terms. Really that is not more than 34 per cent of the plan expenditure in the course of the two years. This only means that in his success at the Centre, he is ruining the States. In this regard Shri Pranab Mukherjee has mentioned the figures of Rs. 1,80,000. We must remember that this is happening in the context of the Seventh Plan allocations where the States have been originally given a lower share than that of the Centre. Previously the allocations were fifty-fifty. This time it is 96 point something (Rupees thousand crore) in the Central sector and eighty-five point something (Rs. 1000 crore) in the State sector already. This trend of centralisation is evident in the so-called achievements at the Centre. This is one aspect.

In an earlier discussion on the Supplementary Demands I mentioned that because of the policies pursued at the Centre, the pressure on the State finances —to whose credit it should be said that they have provided for this year a deficit of not more than Rs. 169 crores—the pressure from the side of the employees because of the implementation of the Fourth Pay Commission's recommendations and the pressure due to rise in prices, due to deficit financing and due to raise in the administered prices, would erode their Budget thoroughly. Therefore this is happening because of the policies at the Centre. And the Centre simultaneously is denying them the avenues of resources to which they are entiled to and Centre to provide them for.

The List 1, is consignment tax. I will come to that in a slightly more detail later. When you talk about development, you all admit, the subjects which have been given to the States are irrigation, infrastructure in the form of power and so many other things which directly alleviate poverty. By your policies you are forcing them to put a cut on those. When you talk of Centre's allocation for poverty alleviation programmes, you forget that you are crippling the States in their fight for further growth by denying them the consignment tax out of which many States would get no less than Rs. 100 crores. I have mentioned that. I also mentioned that in this Budget also you have shown an enormous amount as capital and other receipts that cover up the receipts from the public provident fund, which so long was available to the States, but by floating the special deficit scheme, you are withdrawing from the States.

SHRI JAGESH DESAI: From the public provident fund they are giving 66 per cent, but not on non-provident fund.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: The point is the public provident fund is invested in certain instruments. If it is invested in small savings it is not as public provident fund that the States get their share. Now, instead of permitting them as of old to invest in the small saving instruments, they are required to invest them in the special deposit scheme and 85 per cent of the accumulation of the provident fund and all these things would bring down the State resources and inflate the Centre's figures in the capital and other receipts. That is why I consider him to be a budgetocrat who is confined in the budget

and forgets the interest of this Federation called India, of the country which is called India, not composed of the Centre alone.

Then, Sir, what does he take credit of? It is tax collections. Everybody will agree that is right. But where has it been proved that because of lowering of rates these collections have come. I have stated this in the budget discussions, as far as I remember, that if you give amensty as you have given them earlier also in the form of bearer bonds—how do your collections compare. Through the bearer bonds you got Rs. 1,000 crores. Is the amnesty getting that mucn amount additionally? What relaxation has got with the lower rate of taxes. The fixed income group, because of the lowering of rates of taxes, would they contribute more? You say that your stern action has also led to the collection. I tend to agree. But even at a much higher rate, you got the collection in the form of bearer bonds. But how you argue that because of the lowering of rates of taxes, this increased collection is taking place? You say that the direction of collection of taxes is, more and more, progressive. You have pointed out that no income tax collections are going up. Yes, it was. But now, no more. Because the same kind of amnesty has been granted to the indirect tax sector also. If you go by the press hearings "Rush for depositing excise duties" which have been stolen for years to come. We can imagine what has happened. From the people excise duty was collected. They were not deposited so long. It was administered by exploiting the people and the consumers. That was not deposited and that is being given amnesty now. It will not go back to the people. To boost up the Central sector finances, partly it will be shared by the States. I know to the extent, it is excise duty and not custom duty.

Sir, he taunted me and quoted me "Why are you not extending it to robbers?" Yes, Sir, if anybody asks "Who is the Finance Minister of the country?, we don't say "It is Jyoti Basu". There is only one name. For the country, if anybody asks "Who is the Finance Minister?", it is the Finance Minister here. And in his instruments, unless he is absolutely narrow-minded, unless he looks to nothing else but the budget, the question of morality in the economic life should have been paramount. It is in this context that I say, that we all point out, that in trying to show achievements in a particular area, he is throwing to the winds everything, the State finances and the morality of the economy. And not only that, it is fraught with a grave danger. He has a reputation for honesty. That is very convenient for the Government. The Government permits that reputation to grow so that he can become the instrument to touch what even the most untouchable will not touch. This has become a wonderful instrument. And when you utilise this instrument, what happens in the long run? When the Ministers did not have such a reputation, they expected bearer bonds. The initial feeling was that no such thing was going to happen. But now V. P. Singh has also entered into the trap. What would be the psychology of the profiteers? Will the black income generation be reduced, or will they be throughly convinced that honest or dishonest, whatever the quality of the Finance Minister, amnesties are going to come and stay? Therefore, the tendency for accumulation of black income and black wealth will grow psychologically. This is the long-term damage when you talk about morality. This is not only in the abstract. In the abstract, yes. But also in terms of the economic problems we raise the issue. It is not the immediate collection that matters. The danger signal is how much can be hidden and how much will be hidden in future because all of them are now convinced that under any kind of Government of this type, whether it contains honest or dishonest personnel, these things will continue; therefore, don't worry. It is on these grounds that we take exception to this amnesty.

[Shri Nirmal Chatterjee]

Sir, I will also mention.... (*Time bell rings*) I will take a few minutes. Permit me to become the last speaker today.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA): No, no, there are other speakers. Your party's time is over.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: Sir, the question of deficit has been raised. The deficit has been shown as Rs. 5,000 crores. One does not know what it means. Previously the deficit was shown as a certain figure, but that deficit is also going up. Secondly, this year's deficit itself would be crossing the figure of Rs. 5,000 crores. And you have given the figure of the budget estimate this year, not the revised estimate. And the people are now convinced that between the word and deed, there is a chasm which cannot be bridged under this dispensation. And this accumulation of deficits, in fact, is leading to problems which I now propose to enter into, in trying to analyse the economic situation.

I am surprised sometimes how we can discuss the economic situation. How do we discuss it? The economic situation can only be discussed, can only be evaluated in two terms: in terms of its history and in terms of its perspective. The present must be viewed as against what we have achieved and in terms of where we want to arrive. If we forget these two, there is no evaluation of the economic situation at all. I propose to do that. But there is one difficutly. When we go to long-term process, it is taken exception to. When we say that in the course of the last six Five Year Plans India has slid down in industrial achievements in the community of nations, what we are told is, don't go back that much, look at the achievements of the Sixth Five Year Plan. I will do that. But before that let us look back. Inadvertantly perhaps, the Finance Minister was trying to correct Gurupadaswamji that we have promised in the Seventh Plan that the backlog of unemployment would be absorbed. We had to point out this was not the first time that you were promising like that. It was from the Second Five Year Plan onwards that you were promising that the backlog would be covered so that the current figure would decrease. From the Fourth Plan onwards the response of the ruling party was since that is not possible, they started quetioning the definition of 'unemployment'. Perhaps everybody knows that from the Fourth Plan onwards the Planning Commission took a stand that we cannot estimate the number of unemployed. Why? Because, the very concept of unemployment is very difficult to understand. So the target was left out. This was not there previously. Once again this is not there as a concept. But in terms of the last Plans, from the First Five Year Plan onwards Mr. Jha is not there; I will come to him later—are there no achievements? There are; Yes. Something concrete had happened on 15th August, 1947. Corresponding to that great achievement, there will be no achievements. We are not discussing the economy which was under the British jack-boots. We are discussing an economy of which we are the masters. It is in this context that we must evaluate; it is in this context that we have to see and feel proud. (*Time bell rings*) We are no longer a colonial economy. If you say we are not having famines, yes, we are not having famines. But is it not also true that a majority of the population, although they do not die of famine, are now allowed to live beyond 50 years, when the exceptation of life, after so many years of freedom, through so many years of planned development, stands at 57 and all of us here, Members of Parliament, and the richer sections of the population live up to 70? It only means that 60 to 70 per cent of our population do not live beyond 50. That is one aspect which should be noted when we talk about our achievements.

I will mention another thing. The Siseth Five Year Plan targets I want to dismiss in a few words. Pranabji is not here. He forgot to mention this. (*Time bell rings*).

He today mentioned one thing When you talk of infrastructure rate of growth in the current year, you forget that there was a negative growth last year and you forget that actual production was less last year, and in the case of coal it was reduced because of stock accumulation and,

therefore, you say that this is the growth rate. In any case, it is not that true for the Sixth Plan as a whole. What was the five per cent rate in relation to? It was in relation to 1979-80 when there was a tremendous downward growth in our national income. It is because of that accidental year that you say that there is a five point two per cent growth rate. It is because of these facts only that the trend growth rate continues and the growth rate in relation to 1979-80 will also go away and therefore, the improvement now is only marginal.

SHRI JAGESH DESAI: It will average during the period of five years.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: It is the 1979-80 figure. Again and again I have pointed out and you did not hear. with all the relevant industrial targets mentioned in the Sixth Five Year Plan not being fulfilled, with the agricultural targets not being fulfilled, how do you arrive at the fulfilment of the target of national income growth? I have raised this question earlier and I want to reiterate. According to the reports available, in agriculture over the years the value added as a percentage of total production is coming down. If it is so, then you can give a go-by to statistics treating them as rotten. But it cannot happen. This is 1986 and it is the achievements of the Sixth Plan that we are discussing now. I do not want you to throw on my face the question: Have we not suceeded in the Sixth Plan? Statistically it may be all right. But accidentally the base year was 1979-80. Now, production is not the whole thing and there should be a perspective of growth rates in income. What is the perspective? Can you promise, as the imaginative leaders before Independence and after Independence, promised to use that in fifteen years' time you would double our per capita income? Have you got the guts to say that? It is in terms of this that we should try to evaluate the economic situation. You have postulated a growth rate of 8.3 per cent in industry. But during the two successive years in the Seventh Five Year Plan you have not achived that. You have targeted a particular growth rate in agricultural production for 1984-85, for 1985-86 and for the year 1986-87. But still you are not at the peak of the 1983-84 foodgrains production and foodgrains is the major item in agriculture. This is the rate at which you are growing. If you try to fulfil not in real terms, but in terms of investment, not investment, but Plan expenditure at the Centre, you will realise this kind of results only. It is this economic situation that bends us and it is this economic situation which is miserable and with this rate we shall not enter the twenty-first century which double the per capita income of ours. (*Time bell rings*). While the growth is that tardy, let us not forget that growth is not the only end objective. What is the other end objective? Sir, I have got the figures here with regard to unemployment. You say that you are eliminating poverty. On the statistics quoted, I questioned Mr. Salve. You know the base which is here in those statitics. At 1983-84 prices it is quite high. You have not calculated at that level but depended on the figure of Rs. 3,600 crores. But what are the other indicators? If the number of people below the poverty line is coming down, should not unemployment also come down?

Unemployment is growing, according to the registers, at the rate of 10 to 11 per cent every year, when the growth rate of population is only 2,2 per cent in a year. It that an indicator for decreasing poverty of the masses? Not only that. The problems of sick industries you talk about. You talk about a large number of the small scale units which are sick. Is it not true that small-scale industries are labour-intensive? If one lakh small small-scale units are sick, does it not mean that nearly five lakhs of people are additionally jobless who may not have registered themselves in the employment registers. This is one indicator of whither we are all going.

And look at the other side. I assume that your national income rate is not growing at the stipulated rate of the Seventh Five Year Plan, and it is less than the targeted rate. Within that rate, along with employment, that 10 per cent growth rate of unemployment is matched

[Shri Nirmal Chatterjee]

by another growth. That growth is that the ten largest company houses in the country in four years have doubled their assets. The only match to growing unemployment and poverty is provided by this figure. This explains that; that explains this. Out of one hundred large houses in the country, ten houses, have Rs. 15,000 crores as assets. Your entire Central and State Governments have assets worth Rs. 42,000 crores. Only ten families have Rs. 15,000 crores. The first hundred have got Rs. 25,000 crores. Who controls the commanding heights? These hundred. If they control Rs. 25,000 crores, you control the commanding heights? And I am very much pained because *the claim is that of honesty*. But the Finance Minister, in discussing the economic situation, does not mention those facts. He does not touch even a fringe of his mind that he has taken an oath by the Constitution, which Constituion in its Directive Principles has stated that there should be reduction in inequality in income and wealth. Is this the example of reduction? That is why, Sir, I characterise him as the Budget. (*Time bell rings*)

Sir, I am coming to a close. Did Mr. Jacob suggest that I should conclude?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA): No.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: Look at the very famous economist—Mr. L. K. Jha. He reveals in words which he has called pragmatic, but which only mean short-sightedness, short-run and partial. What is his approach? It is he who represents your philosophy much better. What does he say? In his speech yesterday, he was asking for more equity participation by foreigners than borrowing by the Centre on interest in the markets. He was trying to prove that the acquisition of equity shares is more economic. What a dangerous proposition he was making. He forgot that by inviting them in equity participation we allow economic power to them.

When the Government operates, at least there is a buffer. When you say in a very shy fashion that you are seaking only in economic terms, you are making a very dangerous suggestion to hand over the economic power to foreign capital in the name of economy. Why does he say so? He says so because in one sentence he has stated what perhaps he was too shy to say. He has written in Yojana.

"The new development philosophy must have a different outlook and orientation. We must recognise the importance of raising the living standards of the people which can come about by the increased availability of all that they want, not what someone else thinks they should want."

What exactly is this if not direct denunciation of planning. He says: "Give the people what they want." What do they want? How do you know? Go to the market. And the market is ruled by the rich, catering to the demands of the rich. Follow the market. It that planning? He says let not otrers decide how much should be produced. Who are these others? (*Interruptions*) That is what he said. What did the Planning Commission do? This is exactly what Reagan and the American economic said. Depend on the market forces which is the exact opposite of the planning process because planning says that things should be produced in a particular manner.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI M. M. JACOB): India has a democratic planning process.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: Even in democratic planning, it is the planning Commission aided by the Government which gets a configuration of the output. Had you followed that, there would not have been any public sector steel units. It would all have been imported. Allow free forces of market. The foreign goods should flood you and the goods will be such as needed by the rich. Do you realise that in this way you will stop production of foodgrains because there is no

more demand for it? If you follow this, immediately you should stop production increases on the food front. He has gone to the extent of saying that we are improving. "Are we not improving". Our standard of living is increasing. Ture. Are we not producing so many more scooters? Are we not producing so many cars and so many more television sets? Yes, we are producing. But that is the progression of the rich. He has said about oil seeds. I have got the data. But in deference to the wishes of the Vice-Chairman, I will not quote that. He says that oil seed and oil production is increasing. Who is eating that? The same National Sample Organisation will tell you that the people/at the poorer level eat 1/50th of what the people at the upper 10 per cent eat. So, this is the approach of the Chief Advisor who, I congratulate, is more outspoken than the Government is.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA): Please conclude. Otherwise I will call the next speaker.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: The only other thing which I want to mention is in terms of distribution. Are you aware of this simple fact that between 1971 and 1981 the number of small and marginal holdings has increased from 36.20 million to 50.52 million? It is a growth rate of 42 per cent. You consider that to be the poverty of the nation. The number of marginal farmers is increasing at this rate, much faster than the population growth and slightly less fast than the assets of the top 100 business houses. (*Time bell rings*). I will conclude. I will not take your time. So, is there a way out? If you want to enter the 21st century with a more prosperous countrymen, you have to do certain things. There is the wasteful expenditure Mr. L. K. Jha has mentioned it and Mr. Matto has supported it. It is physically fragmented and narrow-minded. I agree with the suggestion. But he stopped there. There is wasteful expenditure in both Plan and Non-Plan expenditure. I ask you this question: Why is the distinction between Plan and Non-plan expenditure? I have asked the Prime Minister. He confessed his ignorance about it. He is the Chairman of the Planning Commission.

6.00 p.m

Why does he not say, what is he not bold enough to say, let those distinction vanish? We can utilise our microscopes to find out where there is wasteful expenditure. May I indicate one? Would he consider? In the public sector the employees and the management are unhappily situated. The private sector can evade taxes and excise duties. In the public sector. that is not the position. How would you think they add to their income? It is by coming in contact with contractors. While they cannot garner additional income by tax evasion in the public sector, this additional black income is generated by contact with the contractors. You want to avoid wasteful expenditure, you want to meet your capital output ratio, you want to utilise your capital to the full so that your output increase faster. Would you agree, would you dare to eleminate this contractor system?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA): You conclude now. I am calling the next speaker.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: Please give me one or two minutes.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA): No, no. You have already taken more time.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: Sir, the other suggestion which I have repeatedly made is that you introduce workers' participation in the management.

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA): Please conclude. Now, Mr. D. G. Patil.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: Thank you, Sir.

SHRI DINKARRAO GOVINDRAO PATIL (Maharashtra): Mr. Vice-Chairman Sir, I rise to support the Resolution moved by the hon. Finance Minister. Sir. I am not an economist like Mr. Nirmal Chatterjee. So, I do not want to go into any statistics. Sir, my speech is the reflection of the opinion of the messrs who have been experiencing the economic, affects in their day to day life. No doubt, we have made tremendous development

[Shri Dinkarrao Govindrao Patil]

in agriculture, science and technology. But I feel that the economic situation is not satisfactory today. Indian people are having the tolerance power. They tolerate the economic situation because they have full faith and full confidence in the dynamic leadership of Shri Rajiv Gandhi and the Congress Party striving for the national unity, integrity and security with hopes of socialism. Sir, people have seen the multiple-party Government with multiple ideologies which has shattered the hopes of the people in 1977. The people have also seen the Government of the Congress Party under the dynamic leadership of late Smt. Indira Gandhi who had diverted the flow of money to the last man of this country by nationalising the big banks, by passing Land Ceilling Act, by cancelling the Privy Purses of the princes and by bringing the money Lending Act and the Labour (Removal of Bondage) Act. She tried to minimise the economic and social disparities through the 20-point Economic Programme with the slogans of 'garibi hatao'. Not only this, Sir. She has also made the supreme sacrifice of her life for the noble cause of national unity and integrity.

Today I invite in brief the attention of the hon. Finance Minister to the four main factors which lead to an unsatisfactory economic situation prevalling in the country.

The first and foremost worst factor is the black money. Forty per cent of the national economy is in the hands of smugglers blackmarketeers, illegal gamblers, mutka dens, looters and power brokers. The highy placed officials of the Reserve Bank of India said that Rs. 60 thousand crores are in the form of black money. Therefore, Sir, the black money based culture is leading us along the path of disaster in every sphere political, social, economical, cultural and spiritual also. We find that even Gurudwaras of Sikhs, temples of Hindus, Masjids of Muslims and Churches of Christians have become the shelters of black money and smugglers are controlling thousands of crores and adding every day crores of rupees to the cesspool of black money. Millions of manufacturers of illicit liquor in all cities, towns and vllages generate crores of black money every day. Lakhs of owners of illegal gambling dens and mutka dens create black money everyday. Thousands of strect gangs, dacoits, bank looters and extremists earn and add to the cesspool of black money everyday in India.

Therefore, Sir, this black money completely changed the character of Indian politics. Under the guise of following attractive socialist policies the politicians have acquired enormous political and social power without having the necessary character to use it judiciously in the interests of the nation. Therefore, Sir, I earnestly suggest to our hon. Finance Minister to wage a war against the monster of black money and save India without making the delay of a day.

The second most important factor is unemployment problem in this country which contributes to the unsatisfactory economic situation in the country leading to unrest among the youth, due to growing population, rising prices. Literate and illiterate young persons are today jobless and therefore lakhs of young people are now working as carriers of smuggled goods and illicit liquor and they are now becoming anti-national and reactionary forces in our country.

Sir, communal organisations like Shiv Sena, Hindu Ekta Andolan etc. are easily atracting the minds of young unemployed persons towards communal riots and other crimes. Thousands of young persons are joining these gangs of criminals and reactionary forces. Once having tested the easy money today they have become unfit to do anything else. Therefore, I humbly suggest to the hon. Finance Minister to make a structure of the society on the basis of economic parity and kindly take the services of young rich persons as free service to the nation and give the jobs to the needy young persons paying them for their services and this will meet the challenge of the economic situation in the country.

Sir, the third most important factor is the drought condition and water scarcity.

Drought is a natural calamity In some parts of the country, that is the Southern India, there is no drop of water from the sky; no drop of water from the earth. In addition to this natural calamity, the man has also created artificial calamity resulting in scarcity of water. I give the best, but the worst, example of my State. Maharashtra is facing grave problem of desertification, mainly due to alarming decline in the rainfall, and high rate of evaporation and adverse terrain conditions. Giving water to sugarcane for 12 months is injustice to other crops, and it also creates problem of drinking water. The big landlords and politically influential persons always commit a theft of water, always indulge in corruption in this respect; they indulge in wastage of water by which thousands of acres of land has become salted and useless. Therefore, I request the hon. Finance Minister to ensure equal distribution of water, by giving more weightage to drought-affected areas which are facing scarcity.

My last point is about agriculture and the Land Ceiling Act. I congratulate the Government of India for making the nation self-sufficient in the agricultural field. But I must bring to the notice of the Finance Minister the fact that non-implementation of land reforms under the Land Ceiling Act, gives rise to unsatisfactory situation in the country, because big landlords who do not cultivate their lands, are abe to get huge credits from the banks and the middle-class farmers, the small holders do not get this facility. Therefore, the middle-class farmers are under heavy pressure of loans and the drought conditions, and because of this, they have mortgaged their lands to money lenders who almost purchase their lands. Thus, they are becoming landless. Even the condition of maginal farmers is worse. They do not have the means to cultivate their lands which are small holdings, and leaving their lands and homes, they have started migrating to cities like Bombay in search of jobs. This is again creating the worst kind of slums in the cities. Therefore, I earnestly request the hon. Minister to properly implement the land reforms policy under the Land Ceiling Act to avoid the explosive economic situation in the country. With these words, I support the Motion.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA): Prof. Lakshmanna. Many Members are interested to go to the reception of the Deputy Speaker. This is just to remind you, because you may also be interested in going there.

PROF. C. LAKSHMANNA: I am interested in going only after completing my full quota. Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, the Finance Minister while initiating the debate on the economic situation in the country took a lot of credit for having achieved remarkable growth on the economic front. I would like the hon. Minister to kindly note one thing. Even after what I am going to say, he is convinced that we have achieved remarkable growth, I would say God' save this country. Unfortunately, I do not believe in God. I do not know who should be asked to save the country.

Sir, at the time of Independence, we occupied the tenth place among the industrialised countries of the world. Today, our place is 27th or 28th. Countries such as China, Mexico, Brazil etc. which were far below India in 1947 are ahead of us now, except Mexico and its place has been taken by Koera. This is the progress we have made. I am only referring to the developing countries. I am not referring to the developed countries at all. Therefore, even after this, if you take credit that we have achieved remarkable growth in the industrialisation of the country, in the economic growth of the country, I do not know whom this country should look to. Not only that. If we take China for comparison—on many counts, this is the country with whom we have to compare—it outnumbers India five times in oil, gas, coal and other fuels, three to five times in cement, iron and steel and chemicals, one and a half to three times in machine tools, electricity, aluminium, cotton etc. They are able to have a national climate

(Prof. C. Lakshmanna).

with much improved literacy, infrastructure and medical security. Sir, China is having a life expectancy of 64 years compared to India's 50 years as has been pointed out. (Interruption) Fifty-seven, but in real terms 50 as he has said. We cannot take shelter under the plea that after all we are a country with a huge population of 70 crores etc. Here, the comparison is with a country whose population is one hundred crores. I do not indulge in comparison with Korea and Japan, who have achieved much faster growth. This is one yardstick by which we have to measure whether we have progress, whether we have achieved economic development or not. Now, the Finance Minister may immediately say that since they came back to power in 1980, they have done remarkably well. I would like the Finance Minister to compare our position between 1980 and now, what was our position in 1980 and what is our position today among the industrialised countries. If we have improved even five or six positions, of course, I will credit to you. The situation is, if any, on the bad side.

There is another way by which we can examine whether we have achieved economic growth or not. There is another yardstick. Let us look at the different types of projects, different types of industries, which have been initiated and which are yet to be completed. I have got the details. But I do not want to go into it for want of time. If he can satisfy me or if he can satisfy at least himself that the period between the starting and the completion of any project has been reduced to a period of ten years, over a period of five years, which is more crucial, I will say that the health of the economy, of the country, is showing an upward trend. But the Finance Minister will agree with me that the period of completion has been long. In fact, when the Seventh Five-Year Plan was started,—if my memory does not serve me bad,—an indication was given how they would like to speed up projects completion, in order that we achieve the production that we needed. Therefore, what has been the delay in the completion of industrial projects, river valley projects, power projects and so on and so forth? That itself, to my mind, is a sufficient indication that we have not been able to achieve. If there is a delay in the project, what are the contributory factors? They are very obvious and all those factors point towards a declining health of the economy of the country, Therefore, I do not want to go into details of the same.

Having said this, what is the other yardstick by which we can decide the health of the economy? One way is to look at the way in which the common man, the poor man who is below the poverty line, or who is grazing the poverty line, is feeling today. If it is on the upward trend, if it is looking up, we can say that the Government is on the right path. But, Sir, let us have a look at it. There are two ways in which you look at the problem of a common man. He must be able to get what he wants. With the type of public distribution system which we are having in this country except in one or two States where they have been able to perfect the system to some extent, the market economy and the market conditions indicate the extent to which the poor people in this country are affected. The consumer price index has gone up to 9.2. Thank God, it has not gone to two digits. The pet expression of the hon. Finance Minister has been that they are able to maintain the consumer price index, that they have been able to keep it below two digits or whatever it is. Nonetheless, it has gone to 9.2 during this current year. And if we also look into the prices, Sir, the prices of rice have increased by 4.2 per cent on top of 6.8 rise in the preceding year. Similarly, wheat by 4.3 per cent over 6.7 per cent last year. Jowar, by 5.8 per cent. Then ragi, by 7 per cent over 7.3 per cent of last year. Bajra, by 8.9 per cent over 20.6 per cent of last year. I have given only the commodities which are consumed by the common poor peo-

ple. This is the rise in the prices. At least I will not take the satisfaction that the price rise has been marginal or of this or that order because whatever rise is there it becomes a burden on the common man. There is no corresponding rise in his income level. If there had been a corresponding rise in income level, if we had been able to improve the employment position, the job situation, then perhaps there would have been satisfaction. If we look at both of them, then it is very obvious that the common man, poor man in this country is the worst hit by the rising prices.

Now, with all the problems that we have created for the common man, what is the growth rate in the corresponding year? It was 4.5 per cent. It is only 4 per cent for this year and still the Finance Minister wants us to believe that economy is going up or is tending up. When we take into consideration the wholesale price index, more particularly the consumer price index and the prices of several commodities about whose consumption is very vital for the common man, it looks that the economy has not brightened up as is being claimed by the Minister. Then the other point which we have to look into is about the inflation rate. Again we are always tending to minimise the impact of the inflation rate because the number has been reduced. If you look at the cumulative effect of this inflation rate, what has happend last year and if something is happening this year over and above that and what is its cumulative effect, even that also is an indication fully to tell us that there has not been any relentness on the part of the economy as far as the country is concerned. So we have seen what is happening in these two fields. (*Time bell rings*).

Then let us come to the budget deficit. Even according to the Finance Minister, the likely budget deficit in the year 1987-88 will be Rs. 5000 crores. When this budget was presented and when it was said that it will be Rs. 3650 crores, credit was taken that it is not as much as it was in the previous year. But if it is more, then they will be silent about it. But my contention, and I think this has been the contention of many Members here, is that even the present day budget deficit will not be of the order of Rs. 3650 crores or even Rs. 4000 crores; it may be much more than that. Therefore what is being projected as a possible deficit for the year 1987-88 is only sidetracking the issue, is an eye wash, to be more particular. Then what is the other aspect of it? While the Union Government continuously indulges in the luxury of increasing deficit financing, the same facility you don't want to give to the States. The overdraft facility has been taken out. At the same time you expect higher rate of performance. Mr. Poojari will always say, "out of hundred paise, we are giving as much as 51 paise to the States". Mr. Finance Minister, why do you forget that this 51 paise is already a reduction over the amount that was earlier coming to the States when the planning process started? Therefore you are not doing anything very outstanding by giving 51 paise. You have already drained the capability of the States by doing this.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: And in terms of the Finance Commission's recommendation which is binding.

PROF. C. LAKSHMANNA: Secondly, while you want better performance on the part of the States, a point which my good friend, Mr. Nirmal Chatterjee, has already made, you don't also facilitate them because your eye is always to project yourself as the saviours and your eye is always to say that the States have been failing and so on and so forth. At the same time you want to continuously take over many of the powers, many of the aspects, many of the areas in which States have their own legitimate rights. May I ask: what is so great about these Navodaya schools? What is so great about your new education policy? Why do you want 540 schools to come up in this country with such huge expenditure? On the other hand, if you had given that money in the proportion in which it has to be given to the States, they would have put it to much better use, I am

[Prof C. Lakshmanna]
very clear in my mind. We do not need only show pieces all over the country—540 show pieces by the end of Seventh Plan or at the beginning of Eighth Plan. Therefore there is no clear thinking, except one clear thinking; and I give credit to you for that—that is, continuously boosting your own image, continuously trying to project as though you are the ones who are doing the work, continuously giving the impression as though this money is yours and they do not have any claim on that. What a tragedy it is! Mr. Ghani Khan Choudhury, as the Minister for Programme Implementation, says a word of praise: "Andhra Pradesh has been doing extremely well. I pat them. In the 20-point programme they are at the top". For giving due credit for the performance of a State, your other Ministers—some of them—or other Congress people say, "No, Mr. Ghani Khan Choudhury should not be allowed to say this. If he says so, how can we have any strength here?" What type of system are we living in? Are we interested only in politicizing and the political growth of a particular party or are we interested in the well-being of the people? Whatever might be the case, if a particular Government was able to implement even your programme or our programme, what is wrong in admitting it? And what is this "your programme" and "our programme?" Therefore, I would like to ask you kindly to keep this in mind. When you are trying to present the health of the economy of the country, it is not the health of the economy which is divorced from the health of the entire country. If you strentghen the States, you will be strengthening yourself. But what is being adopted by you people, is a partisan attitude all through. Therefore, you have to make amends for it.

Then, I was talking about the budget. The trade deficit—though Mr. Vishwanath Pratap Singh disputed it—for the year 1985-86 stands at 8,616.36 crores of rupees. It could be more—it cannot be less—whatever may be the dispute. If you present two documents, one at one time, another at another time and you are capable of even giving at third and fourth one—which will be altogether different at a subsequent date, nonetheless the trade deficit has been going up. Alarm was expressed even by the Commerce Minister at one point of time, but there must have been some chiding. The moment there was a chiding, there was retracing of the steps and he says, "No, things are improving; we are now better off." Therefore, I would like to ask the Finance Minister kindly to look into it. Even for the current year, in the first three months itself the trade deficit was of the order of Rs. 1,623.36 crores. That was only up to June. Now almost another two quarters are coming and because you must be having greater access to things than I have, you must be able to tell what is the exact trade deficit. Therefore, what I am suggesting to you is, kindly do something about it. Because, you are aware and I am also aware, that exports have not picked up whereas the import level which was envisaged for the entire Seventh Plan period was eaten up even during the first two years. Therefore, it is bound to lead to imbalances because you have allowed the import of luxury into this country. Even in terms of computers, which have no meaning for the multitude of people . . .

SHRI M. M. JACOB: Computer is not a luxury.

PROF. C. LAKSHMANNA: That is precisely what I am saying. If you kindly listen, that is what I am saying. Which school in this country is capable of utilizing a computer except, perhaps, the Doon School? And if you are intending to boost the Doon School and such type of schools, then of course a computer is needed for this country. I am not saying that the computer itself is anathema, but it is the indiscriminate import of computers and even consultancy and the plaguing of consultancy. Some of the people who ran outside from this country and who are supposed to have acquired some efficiency levels—if I mistook, perhaps—are being sought to be employed as consultants at huge amounts. The consultancy costs, the advertisement amounts that have been given, I think, that is not wasteful expenditure for you. Then

you will not think in terms of reducing westeful expenditure. Therefore, I would like to urge you to take all those steps.

I have got some suggestions—but I do not want to go into them—to improve the position of exports and restrict imports. Kindly don't get into the high-tech trap. I am warning you right now. The way in which you are trying to import the so-called high technology without having a proper assessment of its need is not good. Only about five years back we had been talking eloquently about appropriate technology. We spent considerable time considering that there is need for appropriate technology, a technology which is suited to this country, a technology which will deliver the goods to this country. I think that was the correct step, perhaps. But that has been given the go-bye. Today we are going in for hi-tech import, and we will get into the Frankenstein. The hi-tech trap will be as bad as the debt trap. The debt trap has ruined Mexico and a few other countries in South America. And the hi-tech trap, combined with the debt trap which is already there, is going to ruin this country. It is a warning. If you do not wake up, you will have to pay a penalty for it.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA): Now please conclude.

PROF. C. LAKSHMANNA: Though I have many other things, I will come to only one point because that is very interesting. I will come to Mr. L. K. Jha's point. Mr. L. K. Jha, I think, has come out in his true colours. But we have to bear in mind one factor that Mr. L. K. Jha, before becoming the Member of Rajya Sabha, was the Economic Adviser to the Prime Minister. This, everybody in this House and everybody in this country should be aware of. If Mr. L. K. Jha makes some suggestions, it has a ramification. This suggestion would have been given continuously so long as he was the Economic Adviser to the Prime Minister. Let us not forget about that. Today there are some policies pursued by you, both of you. In fact, I had an inclination to say that perhaps even though your raja saheb is more socialist than many of them, the people above, people below, people around him are such that what little socialist inclinations he has had, would have been taken out. And one obvious example is Mr. L. K. Jha. The point was well made by Prof. Nirmal Chatterjee.

In this connection, I would like to read about one important and interesting thing which happened.

When the former Nizam of Hyderabad—a part of my State was his great country—in an expansive mood handed over to a contractor known as Babu Khan what was then the H.E.H. Nizam Railway, His Exalted Highness Nizam Railway, the people of that princely State were shocked obviously, as we are shocked by some of the things which have been suggested by Mr. L. K. Jha and which have been done in the name of liberalisation. I was really shocked in the morning when Mr. K. K. Birla complimented you, he praised you, for doing some of those things. What else can we expect?

Now, to continue with this, they did not expect that of all persons the inimitable Dr. Jayasurya, son of great Sarojini Naidu—but then, you know, the beauty of it is subsequent—would approve of it. But he did in a seditious periodical that he was then publishing from Vijayawada. In those days these people had been externed. After all, his entry into the Nizam dominion had been banned. Jayasurya praised the potentate to the sky for the gesture and then added—that is the beauty of it:

> "All that H.E.H. Nizam needs to do to achieve immortality is to hand over his government to Babu Khan."

Of course, this advice was not heeded.

I rope our Government also will not heed to such an advice. The advice is to hand over to the multinationals, to invite with 51 per cent equity or 50 per cent equity. And tomorrow what will you have? All this is in the name of avoid-

[Prof. C. Lakshmanna]

ing borrowing. I tell you, borrowing is bad, but borrowing is not as bad as the type of danger which people like Mr. L. K. Jhat have been putting forward. I look with suspicion. I look with a certain amount of shock because of two reasons. He is an honoured Member of the Congress Party, and the Congress Party is ruling the country. He is a Member who could be any day sitting there. In fact, the newspaper reports are that he would be sitting there. Again God save the country. God is not there, unfortunately. Secondly, he had been, and if he is not here, he is the Economic Adviser. Therefore, for heaven's sake please don't listen to those things. When you talk of liberalisation particularly in the vital sectors, you want to hand-over some of the public sector industries. Already you have started this by appointing Chairman in the name of efficiency and modernisation, the people who are well entrenched in the private sector. You make somebody a Chairman of a public undertaking. That very person while in that capacity is supposed to be upholding the priniciple of public sectors in this country, but actually he is in his other capacity and he wants to take over another public sector, because he is an industrialist. This is precisely the trap in which this country will be thrown. Therefore, beware of these so-called experts in the private sector industries, who are ready to pounce upon and eat away the public sector. For heaven's sake don't bring down the commanding heights which the public sector was supposed to be enjoying. The country's ultimate growth will depend upon strengthening of the public sector. Do everything that is possible to strengthen the public sector.

I approve and appreciate your recent bonds programme. After all, the people in the country have a responsibility to contribute to such programmes. They would not be found wanting to discharge this responsibility. Even the poor man in this country will come forward and contribute, provided you convince them what is being contributed by them is for ultimately giving back to them and not for giving to the ten or so industrial families. Therefore, I would like you to kindly ponder over these things dispassionately. I have got many things to bring to your notice, but for want of time I am unable to do so. We are indeed at the crucial turning point. And since you are deciding the destiny of the country, I may tell you posterity will not forgive you if you take this wrong step.

ठाकुर जगतपाल सिंह (मध्य प्रदेश) : आदरणीय उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, वित्त मंत्री जी ने जो मोशन लाये हैं, मैं उस के समर्थन के लिये खड़ा हुआ हूं। जहां तक आंकड़ों का सवाल था, हमारे माननीय सदस्यों ने बहुत से आंकड़े पेश किये हैं। लेकिन मैं कुछ नीतियों पर जानना चाहता हूं। हम ने आजादी के बाद इस मुल्क में वायदा किया था कि हमारी अर्थ व्यवस्था समाजवादी होगी और उसे समाजवाद की ओर ले जाने के लिये पंडित नेहरू, श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी और आज राजीव गांधी उसी दिशा में कोशिश कर रहे हैं। लेकिन मेरी समझ में एक बात नहीं आती। पंडित जी ने जिस समय समाजवाद की बात कही तो सब से पहले उन्होंने गांव के अंदर ग्रामीण अंचलों में प्रोडक्टिव इंवेस्टमेंट और अनप्रोडक्टिव को सील किया। जमींदारों को, ताल्लुकेदारों को खत्म किया और फिर जमीन पर सीलिंग हुई। तो प्रोडक्टिव और अन-प्रोडक्टिव दोनों को हम ने सील किया। लेकिन अरबन एकोनामी में, शहर में हम ने न प्रोडक्टिव इंवेस्टमेंट को सील किया है और न अनप्रोडक्टिव इंवेस्टमेंट को सील किया है। यह बात सही है कि हमारी अर्थ व्यवस्था ठीक है जिस में धन बढ़ा है, नेशनल वेल्थ बढ़ी है। क्या हम इस को कैपिटलिस्ट इकोनामी की तरफ ले जाना चाहते हैं या समाजवाद की तरफ ले जाना चाहते हैं इस बात को साफ होना चाहिए। मैं आंकड़ों की बात में नहीं जाना चाहता। हम ने अंतर कम करने की बात कही है। पूंजीवाद में भी इकोनामी इंप्रूव होती है लेकिन उस में एक शोषित होता है और दूसरा शोषण करने वाला होता है। आज क्या इन दो हिस्सों में हम मुल्क

को फिर बांटना चाहते हैं कि ग्रामीण अंचल में हम समाजवाद की बात करें और अरबन एकोनामी में कैपिटलिज्म की बात करें। यह दो सवाल मैं रखना चाहता हूं। मिसाल के तौर पर आज गांव के अंदर जो जमीन है—जमीन रबर तो नहीं है। जमीन के दाम बढ़ेंगे लेकिन अगर जमीन के दाम बढ़ते हैं और उस जमीन को बेचने के बाद अनप्रोडक्टिव इंवेस्टमेंट से रिटर्न ज्यादा मिलता है तो मैं जानना चाहता हूं कि लोग प्रोडक्टिव इंवेस्टमेंट क्यों करेंगे ? मिसाल के तौर पर 5 एकड़ जमीन एक लाख रुपए में बिकती है तो मैं गांव की जमीन को बेच देता हूं और उसे गांव में खेती पर लगाता हूं तो मुझे 10 हजार रुपए भी नहीं मिलते। लेकिन अगर बैंक में मुझे 12 हजार मिलते हैं तो मैं वहां डालूंगा। वित्त मंत्री जी आप कृपा करके अन-प्रोडक्टिव इनवैस्टमेंट को रोकिए। अगर आपने नेशनल वैल्थ बढ़ानी है तो उसका मल्टीप्लीकेशन उसी रेशियो में नहीं हुआ जिस रेशियो से पापुलेशन बढ़ रही है तो हमारे देश की गरीबी मिट नहीं सकती। परकैपिटा इनकम गांवों की गिरती रहेगी और शहरों की बढ़ती रहेगी। मैं मकान जितना बड़ा चाहे बना लूं लेकिन उसके ऊपर कोई सीलिंग क्यों नहीं आप करते ? तो जो अन-प्रोडक्टिव इनवैस्टमेंट हो उस पर आप सीलिंग कीजिए। मेरा पहला सुझाव यह है।

दूसरी बात जो गांवों में प्रोड्यूस होता है एग्रिकलचर का उसकी प्राइस आपने प्रोडक्शन पर फिक्स की है लेंकिन जो मैन्यूफैक्चर्ड गुड्स हैं उसकी सैलिंग पर की हैं। आपने क्यों नहीं प्रोडक्शन पर मैन्यूफैक्जर्ड गुड्स की प्राइस फिक्स की कि कितनी कास्ट आती है, 5 परसेंट होलसेल और 2 परसेंट रिटेल लगाकर सेल प्राइस इतनी होगी ?

तीसरी बात मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि जो इनपुट्स हैं एग्रिकल्चर के उनकी प्राइस बढ़ती जा रही है और उसके मुकाबले में एग्रिकल्चरल गुड्स की प्राइस नहीं बढ़ सकती है जब कि किसान को खेती की पदावार के लिए आवश्यक रूप से उन्हें खरीदना पाता है। अगर हम इन-पुट्स में सबसिडी देकर कम प्राइस पर किसानों को उसे उपलब्ध कराएंगे तो उससे एग्रिकलचरल प्राइसेज को आप रोक सकेंगे। इस पर आप विचार करेंगे ?

चौथी बात मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि हमारी सर्विसेज के बारे में जैसा कि माननीय सदस्य ने कहा अगर आप एक हजार रुपया मीनिमम स्टेंडर्ड आफ लिविंग मानते हैं तो आज 3 हजार और चार हजार रुपए की तनख्वाह आप क्यों बढ़ाते हैं ? अगर आप मीनिमम स्टैंडड आफ लिविंग लोगों के लिए नहीं लागू कर सकते तो नौकरियों के पदों के नाम बदल दिजीए। जैसे गार्ड है उसको आप ट्रेन मास्टर नाम देकर 300 से 900 का ग्रेड दें। इस मुल्क में 500 रुपए की नौकरी नहीं मिलती तो हम 5000 के ग्रेड नहीं दे सकते हैं। तो आप ग्रेड कम नहीं कर सकते हैं तो उनके नाम बदलकर नय रेक्रूटमेंट कीजिए और गार्ड को ट्रैन मास्टर कीजिए तो आपको हजारों लाखों आज हाईस्कूल पास मिल जाएंगे काम करने के लिए। आपको इस बारे में पालिसी चेंज करनी होगी।

श्रीमन्, आज लोग गांवों से शहरों को आ रहे हैं, यह बीमारी सबको मालूम है और इसका इलाज क्या है वह भी मालूम है। आज गावों में पापुलेशन बढ़ती जा रही है और जमीन रबड़ तो है नहीं कि खिच सके। जो रोजगार हैं वे भी खत्म होते जा रहें हैं। आप देखे कि लोहार, वढ़ई, धोबी वे सब खाली हो रहे हैं जिनके लिए आपको नए ट्रेड्स देने होंगे। अगर आदमी वहां अन इंप्लायड है तो शहर में उसको रोजगार मिल जाएगा तो वह आएगी, वह भूखा नहीं मरेगा। तो आप गांवों में ट्रेड दीजिए। जो आपके लाइसेंस हैं एग्रिकल्चर इकानामी से सबंधित उनको आप गांवों के लोगों कोदे। इससे उनको इंप्लायमेंट मिलेगा। जो कंज्यूमर गुड्स हैं उसमें भी आपने सेंट्रलाइजेशन कर दिया है। बाटा का जूता सारे हिन्दुस्तान में जा रहा है। आप क्यों नहीं कहते कि इस कमिश्नरी का जूता इस बाजार में ही बिकेगा, दूसरी जगह का बना हुआ

[ठाकुर जगतपाल सिंह]

वहां बिकेगा। जब तक आप इस तरह की बात नहीं करेंगे तब तक कुछ नहीं होगा। मैं कोई इकानामिस्ट तो नहीं हूं लेकिन जैसा कि मेरे साथी ने कहा था, हमारे उन महान नेताओं और हमारी नेता श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी ने भी कहा था कि मैं अपने आखिरी खून का कतरा भी गरीबों के लिए दे दूंगी, उस दिशा के अनुसार हमको गांवों और गरीबों की ओर सोचना चाहिए। यही जो विश्वास है इस विश्वास के कारण गरीब हमारे साथ जा रहा है लेकिन अर्थव्यवस्था हमारी समाजवाद की तरफ नहीं जा रही है। गांवों में समजवाद और शहरों में पूंजीवाद रहा है इस बात को हमें सोचना होगा। आर्थिक नीति में हमारी कहीं पर कमी है इस चीज को हमें देखना होगा।

दूसरे लग्जरी गुड्स की बात है। हमारे एक माननीय सदस्य ने कहा था कि क्या जरूरत पड़ी है लग्जरी गुड्स की बाहर से मंगाने की। करोड़ों रुपये की स्मगलिंग हो रही है इस मुल्क के अन्दर लेकिन आप इसको नहीं रोक सकते। कभी आपने कोशिश की है कि चैकिंग करके किसी के घर में यह देखने की कि इम्पोर्टेड टेलीविजन जिसके घर में है, इम्पोर्टेड गुड्स किस के घर में हैं? जो बेचने वाले हैं उनके घर में सर्च करके उनको पकड़ लिया जाता है तो इम्पोर्टेड गुड्स बाजार में बिकना अपने आप बन्द हो जायेगा जब माल नहीं बिकेगा तो कोई कहां से लायेगा। लेकिन बाहर से माल आता है स्मगलिंग होता है। घर-घर में बिकता है घर-घर में जा रहा है और इसकी कोई चैकिंग नहीं है। (**समय की घंटी**) समय नहीं है इसलिए एक-दो बात कह कर ही समाप्त करूंगा। जैसा अभी उपसभाध्यक्ष जी ने कहा कि किसी फंक्शन में जाना है इसलिए मैं बहुत थोड़ा कह कर समाप्त करता हूं।

हमारे मुल्क में पिछले दो सालों में टोटल इन्कम कितनी हुई? टोटल इन्कम टैक्स कितना आया? आप देखेंगे कि जिस रेशों से नेशनल वैल्थ बढ़ी है जिस रेशों से इन्कम बढ़ी है उस रेशों से इन्कम टैक्स नहीं बढ़ा है। आप इसको कैलकुलेट करके देखें और हमें बतायें कि कहां तक सही है। आपने इन टर्म्स आफ मनी, रुपया तो आपने बता दिया कि इतना इन्क्रीज हुआ है लेकिन आपने यह नहीं बताया कि इन्कम कितनी बढ़ी है देश में। क्योंकि जितनी टोटल इन्कम बढ़ी है उस रेशो से इन्कम टैक्स नहीं बढ़ा है। एक बात अन्त में कह देना चाहता हूं कि आपने इन्कम टैक्स में रिलीफ दिया। क्या आपने कभी यह देखा कि जो नीचे के स्लैब के लोग थे उनका तीन सालों में इन्कम टैक्स बढ़ा है और ऊपर के लोगों का इन्कम टैक्स घटा है? मैंने इस बारे में एक चार्ट तैयार किया है मैंने कैलकुलेट किया है अगर आप कहेंगे तो मैं चार्ट भेज दूंगा। जिनकी इन्कम 25 हजार से नीचे हैं उनको इन्कम टैक्स ज्यादा देना पड़ रहा है इनकी इन्कम नीचे हुई है और जिनकी इन्कम ज्यादा थी उनको रिलीफ मिला है। यह ध्यान रखें कि जो नीचे के लोग हैं उनको ज्यादा टैक्स देना पड़ रहा है इसलिए आप उनकी इन्कम का स्लैब बढ़ाइये। उनकी जो इन्कम की परसेंटेज है उस को आप घटाइये चाहे ऊपर की बढ़ायें या न बढ़ायें।

मंहगाई क्या है? मंहगाई इन टर्म्स आफ परचेजिंग कैपेसिटी है। अगर हमारी इन्कम 100 रुपये है तो हम 16 सेर का गेहूं भी परचेज नहीं कर सकते और अगर हमारी इन्कम 10 हजार रुपये है तो अगर मंहगाई हो जाए और गेहूं दो किलो का हो जाए तो हम परचेज कर सकते हैं। कभी कभी आपने देखा कि कैपेटलिस्ट इकोनोमी परचेजिंग पावर एक क्लास की बढ़ती है और दूसरी क्लास की नहीं बढ़ती है। जो रूरल इकोनोमी में हमारे देहात के गरीब लोग हैं, किसान हैं, मजदूर हैं उनकी परचेजिंग पावर उतनी नहीं बढ़ी है। इनका परसेंटेज बढ़ता जा रहा है उनका गैप बढ़ता जा रहा है जो अरबन इकोनोमी में है जो मैनुफैक्चरिंग में हैं उनकी इन्कम भी बढ़

रही है परसेंटेज भी बढ़े तो क्या नुकसान होता है। (समय की घंटी) मैंने आपका काफी समय लिया है। वैसे मैं काफी कुछ लेकर आया था क्योंकि आपको डिनर में जाना है इसलिए मैं एक-दो बात और कहकर समाप्त करता हूं।

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: Do you oppose the **Resolution?**

ठाकुर जगतपाल सिंह : नो सर। मैं रेजोलूशन का इसलिए समर्थन कर रहा हूं कि नेशनल वैल्थ इन्क्रीज हुई है। हमारी कंटरी के अन्दर इंडस्ट्रियल रेवोलूशन हुआ है। हमारे एक माननीय सदस्य ने इजराइल और दूसरे मुल्कों की बात कही। हमारे यहां डेमोक्रेसी का पैटर्न है **(व्यवधान)**। मैं बधाई देता हूं वित्त मंत्री जी को। मैंने तो एक वर्कर के नाते जो गांव में देखा वही मैंने यहां बोला है। हो सकता है इकानोमिस्ट्स की बड़ी-बड़ी बातें हों लेकिन मैं अंत में एक बात जरूर कहना चहुंगा।

Our socialist economy is diverting to the capitalist economy in the urban areas.

मैं आपका बहुत धन्यवाद करता हूं।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA): The discussion continues. The hon. Finance Minister will reply tomorrow.

ANNOUNCEMENT RE. ALLOTMENT OF TIME FOR DISPOSAL OF GOVERNMENT LEGISLATIVE AND OTHER BUSINESS

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA): I have to inform Members that the Business Advisory Committee at its meeting held today, the 3rd December, 1986, allotted time for Government Legislative and other Business as follows:—

Business	*Time Allotted*
1. *Consideration and passing/return of the following Bills as passed by the Lok Sabha :*	
(a) The Indian Post Office (Amendment) Bill, 1986 (b) The Indian Post Office (Second Amendment) Bill, 1986	3 hrs.
(c) The Shipping Development Fund Committee (Abolition) Bill, 1986.	1 hr.
(d) The Consumer Protection Bill, 1986 together with other consequential Bills.	3 hrs.
(e) The Constitution (Fifty-fifth Amendment) Bill, 1986. (f) The State of Arunachal Pradesh Bill, 1986.	2 hrs.
2. Discussion on the Resolution regarding increase in export duty on black pepper.	1 hr.

The committee recommended that in order to complete the Government Business, the present Session of the Rajya Sabha be further extended by one day and accordingly, the House should also sit on Wednesday, the 10th December, 1986.